

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Launch nationwide tours

# Socialist candidates blast Viet war, Israeli attacks



## Linda Jenness

SEPT. 20—Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness launched her fall tour speaking to 225 students at the University of Indiana in Bloomington on Sept. 15. Jenness centered her talk on the question "Is there a meaningful difference between George McGovern and Richard Nixon?"

"Here are two candidates who say they have differences on Vietnam," she said, "but their differences are just tactical differences. On the crucial, basic issues in Vietnam, they agree. Neither of them supports the right of self-determination for Vietnam. Both of them accept the right of the U. S. government to intervene with its armed forces anywhere in the world."

"Both of them," she went on, "are trying to get the antiwar movement off the streets because they are afraid of the American people taking the question of Vietnam into their own hands."

Neither Nixon nor McGovern supports the women's liberation struggle, she said. "Nixon's position can be summed up in one quote: 'I wouldn't want to wake up next to a lady pipe fitter.' McGovern doesn't support the Abortion Rights Act, which says that abortion is a woman's right to choose, and he has nothing to say about 24-hour child-care centers."

"Here are two men, each with a program that in no way corresponds to what the American people need, want, or are thinking about. Nixon is offering more of the same, and McGovern is prom-

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Militant/Howard Petrick

## Andrew Pulley

By DERRICK MORRISON

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 20—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, began his national tour with campaign speeches at Howard and George Washington universities and interviews with the news media in the D. C. area.

The theme of his talks has been the racist, anti-Arab campaign whipped up by the imperialist powers after the Munich incident.

At Howard University Pulley opened a Sept. 19 meeting with Black students by pointing to Malcolm X's view that the struggle for Black liberation in the U. S. has to be international in its scope and character. Pulley stated that the development of the Arab revolution "has a direct bearing on the course of the struggle here."

"The imperialist powers," he said, "try to picture the Israeli state as virtually helpless against the Arab foe, when in reality Israel is the chief guardian of imperialist interests in the Middle East," attempting to keep the Arab revolution at bay. He cited the recent Israeli bombing of Lebanon and Syria as proof of this continued role. The scores of Arab villagers killed goes virtually unnoticed in the imperialist press.

Nixon and McGovern, Pulley said, actually compete with each other to become the most strident supporter of the Zionist settler state. "The fact that the same napalm manufactured in the U. S. is not only dropped by Israel on Arab freedom fighters but used

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# Marxist view of terrorism

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## THE MILITANT

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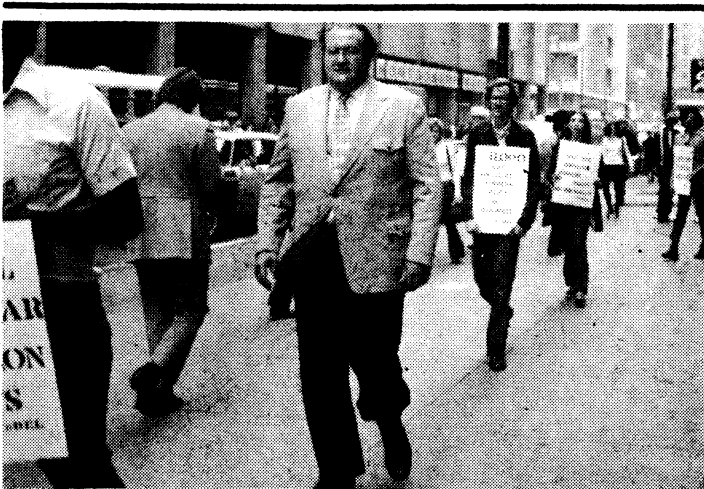
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**U.S. TROOPS IN THE PHILIPPINES:** "Communist insurgency" is on the upswing in the Philippines, reports a dispatch from Manila in the Sept. 18 *Los Angeles Times*. And, "although American officials here claim there is no connection," the U.S. Army began sending 35-man special service teams to the Philippines two years ago.

"Each year the number of U.S. personnel has increased," says reporter Jack Foisie. "Now there is an almost continual presence of Green Berets, who stay for five or six weeks and then go back to their Okinawa base." The Army has not yet begun calling itself the Peace Corps, but its Green Berets squads in the Philippines are known as "civic action teams."

**JAPANESE ANTIWAR ACTIONS CONTINUE:** The U.S. Army has been able to move armored personnel carriers and tanks from its military supply depot at Sagami-hara for the first time since early August, according to the Sept. 20 *New York Times*.

The Sagami-hara base repairs armored vehicles for service in Vietnam, and antiwar demonstrators have held repeated actions against such shipments. The latest one on Sept. 19 drew 3,000 to 6,000 people. The city government in nearby Yokohama supported the demonstrations.



Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U.S. Senate in Illinois, marches in a picket line organized by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws in Chicago on Sept. 11. The picket line was called in protest of the requirement that candidates sign a loyalty oath in order to appear on the state ballot.

**THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN GETS AROUND:** The Sept. 2 issue of the *San Juan Star*, the English-language Scripps-Howard newspaper published in Puerto Rico, has a full page devoted to the current debate on abortion laws. The picture at the top of the page features a Socialist Workers Party campaign banner.

**RED-BAITERS LOSE AGAIN:** Earlier this year a legal victory forced Pennsylvania to revise the restrictive petitioning requirements imposed on smaller parties. On Sept. 19 a further victory was won when U.S. district court Judge John Morgan Davis ordered the state to certify the candidates of the Communist Party (CP), thus assuring their appearance on the November ballot.

Unfortunately, the decision failed to rule the federal Communist Control Act of 1954 unconstitutional. It was this act that the Pennsylvania attorney general attempted to use to justify barring the CP from the ballot.

**SOUR CREAM:** "We get only the cream of the crop." That's what psychologists at a firm called Government Personnel Consultants (GPC) in Oak Brook, Ill., say. GPC administers psychological tests to prospective policemen and firemen who have already passed routine written and oral tests and are about to be hired.

However, the cream apparently leaves something to be desired. Of the 5,000 applicants for police and fire work interviewed in five years by the GPC, 10 to 15 percent have been outright criminals.

Of 400 candidates GPC recently rejected, 25 percent were turned down for emotional immaturity, almost as many for general instability, nearly 20 percent as thrill seekers, and 9 percent for tendencies towards brutality.

GPC psychologists didn't discuss the implications of their findings concerning those already serving as police. But, according to the Aug. 28 issue of *Time* magazine, one cop in a Chicago suburb, seeking a transfer, described how he would take suspects for "a drive in his unmarked car and demand a full confession. If the confession was not forthcoming, he said, he would push the suspect out of the car and report that he had tried to escape—at 80 mph."

The cop admitted that on at least one occasion he had carried out his threat, but he managed to keep his old job.

**GAY LIBERATION GROUPS ORGANIZE IN NEW ZEALAND:** *Socialist Action*, the newspaper of the Trotskyist Socialist Action League in New Zealand, reports that a group calling itself the Gay Liberation Front organized a week of activities at Auckland University this June. A Gay Liberation Front has also been set up in Christchurch.

**CREDIBILITY GAP GETTING WIDER:** Arthur Miller, a political scientist from Ohio State University, attempted to measure the degree of cynicism toward the U.S. government. In 1964, 20 percent of those polled did not trust the government. By 1970 the figure had risen to 39 percent, with 56 percent of all Blacks distrusting the government, compared to 35 percent among whites. Miller told *New York Post* reporter H.D.S. Greenway that he found the rapid increase "somewhat alarming."

**STEP BACKWARD FOR LABOR FOR PEACE:** The steering committee of Labor for Peace met in Chicago on Aug. 21, only two months after the group was founded, and voted to endorse George McGovern for president.

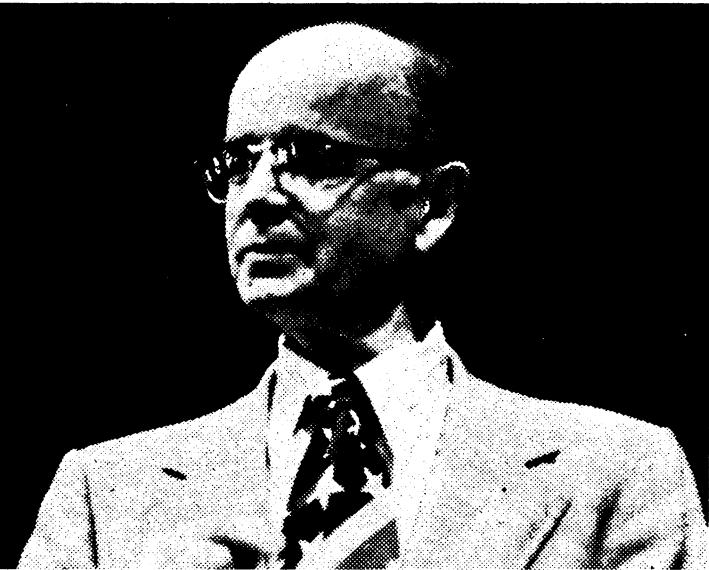
The last trade-union antiwar group organized on a national scale, the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace (LLAP), endorsed Eugene McCarthy in 1968 and became nothing more than a McCarthy campaign committee in the unions. After the election was over, it was never heard from again.

Hopefully, the Labor for Peace group will support and build antiwar activities this fall and for as long as the war goes on, and not repeat the shameful performance of the LLAP.

**SPIRITUAL LEADERS (I):** Pope Paul VI hasn't yet seen fit to speak out against the slaughter conducted by the U.S. in Indochina. But on Sept. 13 he did warn that "Behind the initiation to sensual pleasure (sex—D.F.), there loom narcotics."

The 75-year-old pontiff lamented the state of society, which he said was sliding downward over issues "that render it neither strong nor glorious—contraception, abortion, adultery, divorce."

**SPIRITUAL LEADERS (II):** Lester Maddox, former governor and now lieutenant governor of Georgia, is "one of the hottest speakers these days on the U.S. fundamentalist circuit," according to the Aug. 21 issue of *Time* magazine. Maddox, who gained national prominence during the civil rights campaigns of the 1960s when he used ax handles to keep Blacks away from his restaurant in Atlanta, reports, "I gave my life to the Lord in 1932."



Lester Maddox in Texas pulpit

**INTERNMENT IN THE U.S.:** On Sept. 15 U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas ordered that bail be set for five Irish-Americans in prison in Fort Worth, Texas, who refused to testify before a U.S. grand jury about their activities in support of the struggle in Ireland.

Douglas's decision followed significant public pressure in behalf of the Fort Worth Five. This included a rally of 3,000 in the Bronx, N.Y., organized by the Dallas Defense Committee in August, and protests by a number of New York members of the House of Representatives.

However, on Sept. 19, despite an appeal by nine U.S. representatives from New York asking that the Fort Worth Five be released on their own recognizance, U.S. District Judge Leo Brewster set bail at \$100,000 for each of the five.

In addition to setting bail at a figure obviously designed to defeat the intent of the order, Brewster ordered that the men's passports be taken if they made bail. He also restricted them to the area of his jurisdiction, thus preventing them from rejoining their families or building support for their case in Irish-American communities around the country.

—DAVE FRANKEL

# ... Socialist Workers candidates open fall speaking tours



Jack Lieberman (l), SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Florida's 2nd C.D., addresses meeting of young people in Miami during Democratic convention; (r) Young Socialists campaign among demonstrators at Republican convention.

## Jenness

Continued from page 1

ising a patch and a band-aid here or there."

At the conclusion of the two-hour meeting, 15 people signed up to work on the SWP campaign, and five expressed an interest in joining the Young Socialist Alliance. Both the *Indiana Daily Student*, the U of I student newspaper, and the *Daily Herald-Telephone*, one of the local newspapers, ran front-page articles on Jenness's speech.

From Bloomington the socialist candidate flew to Seattle to address the Sept. 19 Washington Socialist Workers Party state nominating convention. Two hundred people, from Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, Bellingham, and other cities participated in the convention, the largest ever held by the Washington SWP.

Washington's undemocratic election code requires that small parties hold conventions attended by at least 100 registered voters in order to achieve

auguration speech, Jenness said, "there would be an announcement of an order to bring every ship, helicopter, troop, and adviser home from Vietnam."

"I would announce that racism and racial discrimination was now illegal in the United States of America and that those who practiced it would be put in jail," Jenness continued. As much money as the Black and Chicano communities needed, she said, "would be allocated through their own councils and elected representatives for them to transform the quality of life in their communities," including a crash program to build housing, schools, and hospitals.

Robin David, SWP candidate for governor, also spoke at the rally and accepted the convention's nominations on behalf of the candidates. Anne Montague, who is running for secretary of state on the SWP ticket, urged the audience to help get out the "yes" vote on the Equal Rights Amendment. Washington residents will vote on the ERA in a referendum in November.

The fight against Washington's discriminatory filing fees was outlined by Gary Johnson, SWP candidate for superintendent of public instruction. Johnson, who was ruled off the Sept. 19 ballot for failing to pay the filing fee, has appealed his case to the State Superior Court.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is supporting Johnson's fight, which is part of a challenge by the SWP to the state's filing-fee law. If unsuccessful in its legal challenge, the SWP will be forced to pay \$1,425 in filing fees to place its candidates on the ballot.

The rally raised \$1,390 in donations to the SWP campaign.

While in Seattle, Jenness also spoke at the Gay Community Center and at Federal Way High School. Seattle's two TV stations and two major newspapers sent reporters to a news conference held by the socialist candidate on Sept. 19.

## Pulley

Continued from page 1

by Portugal in its war against African freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique," Pulley stated, "shows the concrete links between the African and Arab revolutions."

Pointing out that Israel is in league with South Africa and Portugal, Pulley said this makes a mockery of the position of those Black Democrats who display an interest in the African revolution and yet back the state of Israel.

An effective and consistent defense of the African and Arab revolutions requires that Black people break with the Democratic and Republican parties, Pulley concluded.

The talk was followed by a lively and sometimes sharp discussion on the relationship of Black nationalism to socialism. The meeting was sponsored by the Project Awareness lecture series.

On the night of Sept. 18, Pulley taped a 15-minute show in the studio of WHUR, the Howard University radio station. The show was broadcast throughout D.C.

Pulley spoke to about 50 people at George Washington University Sept. 19. He also gave a telephone interview to *Diamondback*, the student newspaper at the University of Maryland, and talked to a reporter from the *Washington Afro-American*. Three United Press International reporters did a half-hour interview with Pulley for "Washington Window," a show distributed to 400 radio stations.

During Pulley's tour here, Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for D.C. non-voting delegate, held a news conference to announce the filing of 5,560 signatures to place his name on the November ballot. At the news conference, held Sept. 20, Fagg told reporters that he intended to make the issue of home rule in the District, which is more than 70 percent Black, "the central question in this election."

"The citizens of the District should have the democratic right to elect all officials," Fagg stated. "The form of self-government, however, is meaningless without the vital element of who in reality controls. The only way we can see to win control . . . is to organize the Black community in a massive and independent manner to bring about full employment, decent housing, and adequate medical services."

Fagg also said that the D.C. Socialist Workers Party would fight to win a place on the ballot for the SWP presidential ticket. The D.C. board of elections is trying to prevent the socialist campaign from appearing on the ballot (see story, page 14).

# Indiana students protest Israeli raids

By STEVE BEUMER

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — A demonstration held here Sept. 11 protested the recent Israeli attacks on Syria and Lebanon. The 60 demonstrators held a large banner reading, "Stop Israeli aggression in the Middle East — stop U. S. aggression in Indochina."

The demonstrators marched through the Indiana University campus and ended the action with a statement condemning the Israeli aggression by the president of the Organization of Arab Students.

Part of the statement, referring to the Munich incident, read, "The killings and resultant deaths in Munich are regrettable and politically incorrect because they do not serve the cause of the Palestinian liberation. They cannot, however, be used as a pretext for massive killing of Palestinian and Arab peoples who had nothing to do with the Munich incident. Aggressors always use such tactics to justify their aggression."

Following the march a literature table sponsored by the Organization of Arab Students was set up in the lobby of the university library. Beginning around 8 p.m., Zionist students started coming to the table until about 200 crowded around it, screaming derogatory slogans and threatening violence. At this point the police were called in. They threatened to close the library for the rest of the evening unless the people quieted down.

An emergency meeting held in the library after this incident formed the Palestine Solidarity Coalition. The coalition, which consists of the Organization of Arab Students, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Young Workers Liberation League, agreed to challenge the Zionists to a public debate and to hold an educational meeting on the Middle East.

## It pays to be president

Those who have been worrying about making ends meet can take heart in the news that President Nixon hasn't been faring so badly the past four years. According to the financial statement he made public Sept. 16, his net worth increased \$168,218 since he took office.

His total assets are now \$765,118. Although much of this is in cash, savings certificates, and U.S. savings bonds, the biggest portion is real estate. Even though Julie and Tricia have grown up, married, and moved away from home, the White House apparently isn't big enough for his and Pat's needs.

He owns two homes in Key Biscayne, Fla., worth \$252,800 and a waterfront home in San Clemente, Calif., that he bought for \$340,000 shortly after his inauguration. In addition he owns two vacant lots worth \$112,600.

Although Vice-President Agnew hasn't done as well, he hasn't done badly either. His net worth—financially that is—is \$198,250, an increase of \$87,166 during his term in office.



# Trotskyism and Terrorism

By CAROLINE LUND

As part of the ruling-class move to use the Munich killings as a pretext to launch an attack against the entire left, *Newsweek* magazine has attempted to link the Fourth International to the various acts of terrorism by small groups around the world.

The Marxist movement—and the Fourth International, which is the continuator of the traditions of Marxism—arose and developed as a current in political opposition to the strategy of individual terrorism. While agreeing with the goals of those terrorist groups who seek the elimination of oppression, Marxists feel that terrorist acts by small groups are self-defeating and ineffective.

Marxism is founded on the confidence that the masses of people themselves will bring about the socialist revolution. As Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*, "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities. . . . The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority."

The strategy of individual terrorism has been opposed by Marxists because it relies on action by small groups rather than mass action, and because terrorism actually hinders the process of the masses of people moving into action against their oppressors.

This has been the stand of all the great Marxist leaders, from Marx and Engels to Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and Leon Trotsky. The orientation toward promoting mass struggles against oppression rather than terrorist acts by small groups runs through all the major programmatic documents of the Communist International under Lenin, and of the Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938.

In the first place, terrorist acts such as kidnappings or assassinations must necessarily be prepared and executed by small groups working in secrecy. Such a strategy separates them from the masses and discounts the tremendous capacities and power of the masses of people to fight for their own freedom.

The effect of a terrorist strategy is to encourage passivity on the part of workers, peasants, or students by overestimating the role of dedicated individuals. Terrorism promotes the idea that small vanguard groups can act as "saviors" of the mass-

es of people, thus calling into question the need for mass struggle. It is an elitist strategy, which says that small groups of revolutionists can decide what is best for the masses and act in their name without their support or participation.

It is true that terrorist acts often meet with popular support and approval by the oppressed. Many Arabs, for example, saw the Munich slayings as a blow against their oppressors and an attempt to draw public attention to their plight. Some terrorist acts by the Uruguayan Tupamaros (which they call "urban guerrilla warfare") have also evoked popular sympathy.

But the important question is not whether such acts are popular, but whether they contribute toward a strengthening of the self-confidence, consciousness, and power of the independent movements of the oppressed.

In Ireland, for example, many Catholics no doubt applaud when they hear of a bomb hitting a symbol of their oppression. But in general the bombings have been counterproductive. While they may be popular among the Catholics, they are not a strategy for mobilizing them in mass struggle against their oppressors.

Another deficiency of the strategy of terrorism is that it elevates military considerations over political considerations. Terrorists are preoccupied with attack plans, guns, or dynamite, rather than with participating in mass struggles, spreading revolutionary ideas, and winning workers and students to the revolutionary party.

The reality is that in a military confrontation with small, isolated groups, the ruling capitalist class has all the advantages. It has the weapons, the bombs, the intelligence services, the bugging devices, etc. In such confrontations the small terrorist groups will always lose.

The only strength of those who are fighting against oppression is, in the final analysis, their potential mass support. As has been demonstrated in revolutionary situations in the past, when the revolutionary movement wins enough mass support, this can either neutralize the army or win much of it over to the revolution—thus taking the major armed force out of the hands of the oppressors.

For this reason a Marxist organization is primarily a political organization. Its strategic aim is to become a mass revolutionary socialist party. To this end, it attempts to project itself as the voice of, and fighter for, all those oppressed under capitalism—encouraging and leading mass struggles, answering and challenging all the lies and political subterfuges of the ruling class, exposing the capitalist class in the arena of elections, and in general utilizing all means to explain to the masses the necessity of socialist revolution and to develop the confidence of the oppressed in their own power in united action.

Of course Marxists are under no illusions that the ruling classes will give up their wealth and power to the majority of people peacefully, and they call on the mass-struggle organizations to prepare to defend their rights against all forms of capitalist violence. But to be successful, armed defense against attacks by the ruling class must have mass support and participation.

Terrorist actions by small groups actually hinder the process of winning over masses of people to struggle against their oppressors because such acts tend to create confusion over who is the real source of antisocial violence and injustice in society.

On the one hand, terrorist acts suggest that it is sufficient to eliminate individual representatives of the oppressor class rather than the entire system of capitalist oppression.

On the other hand, such acts aid the capitalist class in their attempt to lay the blame for antisocial violence on the movements for social change, rather than on the capitalist state, where it belongs. The weekly newspaper *Rouge*, published by the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, made this observation about the effect of the Munich killings:

"The 'Black September' group fails to understand that . . . no matter what the outcome of these surprise attacks—whether or not the Israeli hostages are executed, as at Munich, or set free, as when the Sabena plane was taken—the ruling clique in Israel holds the winning hand because each time it can successfully present the attacks to the Israeli masses as one more proof that they are a small martyred people beset by the most criminal schemes."

The Munich slayings of Israeli athletes and those of travelers at Tel Aviv's Lydda airport in May were especially harmful to the cause of the oppressed because they suggested that all Israeli citizens—or even anyone traveling to Israel—is the enemy, rather than the Zionist ruling class. This concept makes it more difficult to win over the Israeli working people to support of the rights of the Palestinians.



Troops occupy streets of Ottawa in October 1970 after FLQ kidnappings. Government used terrorist act as pretext to bring repressive measures against entire workers movement.

Because it creates this confusion over the source of violence, terrorism gives the ruling class a handle with which to attack the entire left, as they are presently doing in the wake of the Munich incident. It gives the oppressors the opportunity to fill their press with denunciations of these small acts of terrorism, while they proceed with impunity to carry out such mass terror as the Vietnam war and the bombing of Lebanon and Syria.

A good example of how the rulers use terrorist acts as a pretext to hurt the entire left was the case of the kidnappings by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) in October of 1970. In response, the Trudeau government imposed the War Measures Act, abrogating all civil liberties for Québec citizens.

The Québec Trotskyist movement, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, asked in a special issue of its newspaper at the time: "What is the end result of the FLQ's actions and of its terrorist policy? . . . Far from embarrassing the government and forcing it to draw back, the FLQ has strengthened Trudeau's hand. Have the FLQ's actions mobilized and inspired the working class? No."

"The FLQ has substituted the isolated actions of a small handful for the mass political action of the working class, the only road for Québec's liberation."

Because the terrorist strategy presents the ruling class with so many handles to use against its opponents, the oppressors consciously try to provoke revolutionary groups to acts of terrorism through their agents provocateurs implanted in the movements of the oppressed.

For all these reasons, the Marxist movement, and its continuator the Fourth International, has always opposed terrorism as detrimental to the working class struggle while condemning the international capitalist class as the source of mass terror and violence against humanity.

## Newsweek distorts Fourth International views

The following passage comes from an article entitled "The Terrorist International" printed in the Sept. 18 issue of *Newsweek*.

. . . the avant-garde in international terrorist organizations no longer cares much whether others approve of its tactics. Its models are less likely to be Mao Tse-tung, with his emphasis on national guerrilla movements, than the figure of Leon Trotsky—the Russian revolutionary who sought to spread Communism throughout the world. "His gigantic portrait, complete with fuzzy hair and pince-nez," wrote British New Left specialist Peter Paterson, "can dominate a hall full of British teenagers on a sunny Sunday afternoon like some political version of that sanctified teen-age star, the late James Dean." Trotskyites see themselves as the catalysts provoking governments into ever harsher repressive measures. This, they believe, will encourage Fascism and, in turn, produce more radical fanatics and more cracks in established society.

According to some European specialists, the founding of the Trotskyite Fourth International in Brussels two years ago represented the most ambitious current effort to set terrorism firmly into a multinational frame. Its leading theoretician, Prof. Ernest Mandel of the University of Brussels, urges "active participation of our comrades in armed insurrections designed to destroy the established order, whether in Ireland or in Latin America." The Fourth International seems to have especially close ties with Latin American terrorists—and, in fact, was instrumental in convincing the Latin leftists to switch from rural to urban guerrilla warfare. Its philosophy dovetails nicely with that of Brazil's Carlos Marighella, who first expounded the principle that "the urban guerrilla's only reason for existence . . . is to shoot."



# Leon Trotsky on individual terrorism

Newsweek took out a full-page ad on the back page of the Sept. 12 New York Times, advertising its Sept. 18 issue containing articles entitled "Olympic Terror" and "Terrorist International."

The ad reads in part: "European experts are convinced, says Newsweek, that Black September is no bunch of loners, but rather a super-secret arm of Al Fatah. As part of its cover story, Newsweek explores the links between the major—and minor—young revolutionary groups throughout the world, their motives and heros (would you believe Leon Trotsky?), and the civilized world's chances of stopping them in an age of instant communications and jet travel."

What was Leon Trotsky's actual position on terrorism? The following excerpts from Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry in 1937 show that he and the Marxist movement as a whole are unalterably opposed to such tactics.

Our country [Russia] has the greatest experience in the matter of terror. I believe only the Irish people would have a certain competition with us. We had two great parties, the "Narodnaya Volya," "Will of the People" Party, and the Social Revolutionaries, which based their tactics upon individual terror. All Marxists in Russia began in the historic fight against individual terror. It was not a mystical or religious principle with the Marxists. It was a question of organizing the soul against the monster, of or-

ganizing the masses and educating them. Because the terrorist fight was a very glorious page in our revolutionary history, with great sacrifices of the best youth of our people, the Marxists made a terrible fight, ideological fight, against the ideology of terrorism, in order to turn the best elements of the youth to the workers. In this fight between Marxism and terrorism it is the action of the masses versus individual terror, the school which differentiated the strategy of individual terror and the organized movement. It penetrated our action, our psychology and our literature for decades. When I came in 1902 to London to the home of Lenin and met Lenin, there was a movement in Russia beginning, a mass movement of the students and workers, with the first sacrifices resulting from conflict in the streets. Now, the first reaction of the youth was revenge, the assassination of Ministers, and we told them: "Not that is our revenge, not the assassination of Ministers, but the assassination of Tsarism, the order of tyranny." . . .

Beginning with the 'eighties of the past century, two generations of Russian Marxists in their personal experience lived through the era of terror, learned from its tragic lessons, and organically instilled in themselves a negative attitude toward the heroic adventurism of lone individuals. Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism; Lenin, the leader of Bolshevism; Martov, the most eminent representative of Menshevism; all dedicated thousands of pages and hundreds of speeches to the struggle against the

tactic of terror. . . .

Isolated terroristic explosions are inevitable whenever political oppression transgresses certain boundaries. Such acts almost always have a symptomatic character. But politics that sanctifies terror, raising it into a system—that is a different thing. "Terrorist work," I wrote in 1909, "in its very essence demands such a concentration of energy upon 'the supreme moment,' such an over-estimation of personal heroism and, lastly, such a hermetically concealed conspiracy as . . . excludes completely any agitational and organizational activity among the masses. . . . Struggling against terrorism, the Marxian intelligentsia defended their right or their duty not to withdraw from the working-class districts for the sake of tunneling mines underneath the Gran Ducal and Tsarist palaces." It is impossible to fool or outwit history. In the long run, history puts everybody in his place. The basic property of terror as a system is to destroy that organization which by means of chemical compounds seeks to compensate for its own lack of political strength. . . .

In 1911 terrorist moods arose among certain groups of Austrian workers. Upon the request of Friedrich Adler, editor of *Der Kampf*, the theoretical monthly of the Austrian Social Democracy, I wrote in November, 1911, an article on terrorism for this publication.

"Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if 'successful,' introduces confu-

sion in the ruling circles depends upon the concrete political circumstances. In any case this confusion can be only of short duration. The capitalist state does not rest upon ministers and cannot be destroyed together with them. The classes whom the state serves will always find new men—the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts introduce into the ranks of the working masses. If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach the goal, then to what end are the endeavors of the class struggle? If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organization? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an explosion, what need is there for a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elections, when it is so easy to take aim at the Ministerial bench from the Parliamentary gallery? Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible precisely for the reason that it *lowers the masses in their own consciousness*, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes towards the great avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission." [Emphasis in original.]

—Leon Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry, *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, pp. 45, 489-92.

## Israeli aggressors push deep into Lebanon

By DAVE FRANKEL

SEPT. 19 — Israeli military forces struck again at the Arab population surrounding Israel on Sept. 16, only eight days after massive air strikes on towns in Syria and Lebanon resulted in hundreds of Arab casualties. This time, three armored columns estimated to have about 50 tanks and 3,000 infantry troops pushed 12 to 15 miles into Lebanese territory.

The Israelis claimed to have destroyed 150 houses and killed about 60 "terrorists" in the 16 villages they went through. However, these figures do not include the results of air strikes. Israeli planes attacked bridges, highways, and 10 different Palestinian refugee camps.

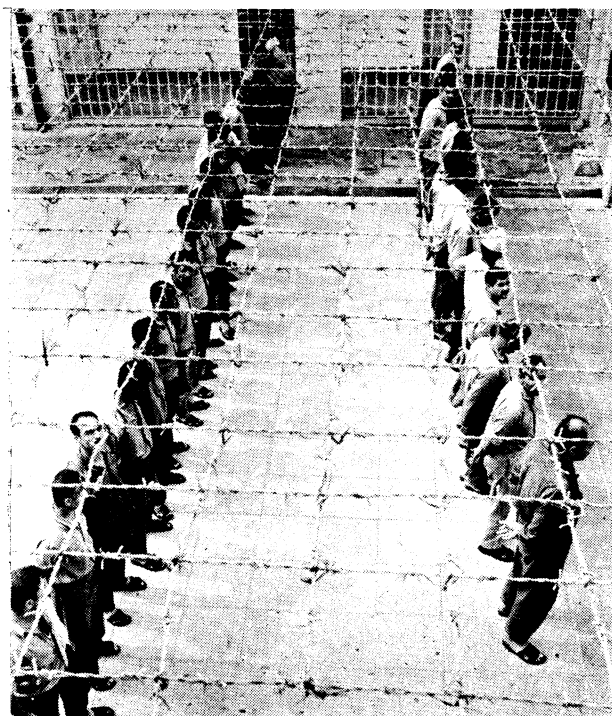
The Lebanese army accused the Israelis of using napalm in addition to bombs and rockets. At the Nabatiye refugee camp, where the Israelis claim to have destroyed the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), eight civilians and one commando were reported to be wounded.

Although Israeli military spokesmen tried to justify the raid by referring to a Sept. 14 clash between an Israeli patrol and Palestinian guerrillas in which two Israeli soldiers were killed, it is clear that this was a pretext, not a cause. Since the bombing of Lebanon and Syria on Sept. 8, Israeli jets have flown daily reconnaissance missions over both countries, and further raids were expected by many.

Israeli officials, using the killings in Munich as an occasion to launch a general offensive against the Palestinian resistance movement, have been quite open about their aims. Writing in the Sept. 18 *Christian Science Monitor*, Francis Ofner quotes the Israeli army chief of staff, Major General David Elazar, as saying, "The totality of Israeli operations eventually led to the ejection of guerrillas from Am-



Der Spiegel



Rouge

On left, Arab women peer out from the cell of an Israeli jail. At right are Arab prisoners lined up in the compound of a prison near Tel Aviv.

man [Jordan]. I assume in Lebanon, too, we are approaching this goal."

The attacks by the Israeli regime have mainly victimized Lebanese civilians. This is part of its strategy to put pressure on the Lebanese government to suppress the Palestinian guerrillas. Although the Lebanese army departed from its previous practice of standing by when Israeli troops invaded its borders and fought the invaders during this latest raid, there are indications that the Israeli strategists won't be disappointed.

Now that the Israelis have withdrawn, the Lebanese army has turned against the guerrillas. A statement by Al Fateh reported in the Sept. 19 *New York Times* claimed that Lebanese

army units supported by heavy field artillery and tanks have begun to take up positions in what had previously been commando areas. It charged that in some places Lebanese troops were besieging guerrillas, and in others they were erecting barricades to prevent the return of the fedayeen.

Although Lebanon's premier, Saeb Salam, has denied that any ultimatum has been issued to the guerrillas, he has been meeting with Yasir Arafat, the head of the PLO, and also of Al Fateh, the largest of the guerrilla organizations.

Whatever the immediate outcome of the current Israeli campaign, one thing is certain. The Israelis will never succeed in their aim of eliminating the Palestinian resistance movement,

whatever the fate of individual militants and organizations.

Palestinians represent about one-third of the population of Israel, counting the occupied territories, which Israeli officials have said they will keep. More than one million Palestinians live in Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon.

It is their condition as second-class citizens within their own country or as exiles, expelled by the Zionist colonizers, which gives rise to the resistance movement. In this situation, the attempts of the Zionist rulers to terrorize the Palestinian people into submission can only result in generating further resistance.

## Int'l witch-hunt

In the wake of the Munich killings, the United States government is spearheading an international witch-hunt campaign supposedly against "political terrorists," but in fact directed against all supporters of liberation struggles around the world.

Secretary of State William Rogers convened a special conference with representatives of 50 nations in Washington, D. C., that met for two weeks to discuss proposals for common measures against "terrorists." The imperialist powers are also attempting to use the United Nations General Assembly as a forum and an organizing center for their offensive against radicals.

In West Germany leading Social Democrats, including Chancellor Willy Brandt, have called for expelling from Germany all Arabs "supporting and tolerating terror." The upper house of the West German parliament voted Sept. 13 to require visas for all Arabs coming into Germany. Arab student organizations in Germany and other European countries have issued statements protesting wide-scale police harassment of Arab students.

The international witch-hunt by the imperialist powers is not only aimed at terrorists but is designed to terrorize all Arabs from supporting the Palestinian resistance struggle. To do this, the media has attempted to lump together organizations and individuals supporting the Palestinian struggle as "terrorists" and co-responsible for the Munich killings.

It is clear that the capitalist rulers are attempting to extend this witch-hunt to non-Arab radical organizations as well. President Nixon, for example, has established two special State Department agencies to deal with "terrorism" in cooperation with the CIA, the FBI, and intelligence services of "friendly" foreign governments.

The government has so far refused to reveal the nature of the activities of these new agencies, but it can be assumed that their snooping and stepped-up planting of agents provocateurs will be directed against the entire radical movement.

Another example of the attempt to use the Munich incident as a pretext to move against all radicals was an article that appeared in the Sept. 18 issue of *Newsweek*. Entitled "The Terrorist International," the story attempts to portray the Fourth International, the revolutionary Marxist organization founded by Leon Trotsky, as a terrorist organization. In fact it calls the Fourth International "the most ambitious current effort to set terrorism firmly into a multinational frame."

In addition to blatant factual inaccuracies—such as saying the Fourth International was founded two years ago, when actually it was founded in 1938—the article deliberately misrepresents the views of the Fourth International.

For example, the *Newsweek* statement that Trotskyists encourage fascism in order to "produce more radical fanatics" is a complete lie, as would be apparent to anyone who had read any of the writings of Trotsky on fascism or any of the resolutions of the Fourth International.

The documents, history, and traditions of the Fourth International also demonstrate that the Trotskyist movement is opposed to the strategy of individual terrorism, as the Marxist movement has been from its inception. (See article on page 4 for an explanation of the Marxist view of terrorism.)

The hack job done by *Newsweek* employs the standard witch-hunting method of the amalgam. It lumps the Fourth International together with such groups as the Baader-Meinhof group in Germany and the United Red Army Group in Japan (members of which carried out the killings at Tel Aviv's Lydda airport last May). By associating other radical groups with those who have carried out terrorist acts, it attempts to lay the groundwork for repressive measures against the entire left.

In addition to denouncing such attempts to victimize all radicals, or the entire Arab people, for such acts as the Munich slayings, it is also necessary to denounce the hypocrisy of the entire campaign against so-called terrorism. For who are the real terrorists?

The real terrorists are those in Washington who are responsible for the deaths of some 100,000 people in South Vietnam alone since April. The real terrorists are the butcher generals who rule in Latin America by holding hundreds or even thousands of political prisoners and torturing many to death—such as General Lanusse in Argentina, who was responsible for the cold-blooded murder of 16 political prisoners at the Trelew airport. The real terrorists are the Zionist rulers of Israel who order the bombing and napalming of Arab civilians and defenseless villages as "reprisals."

The capitalist and imperialist ruling classes have a long tradition of massive, legalized terrorism, including such monstrous acts as the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is they who constitute the real "terrorist international."

### Munich (I)

In your Sept. 15 editorial you accurately pointed out the hypocrisy of media coverage of the Munich killings and the damaging effects of the kidnappings on the struggle of the Palestinian people.

I was disturbed, however, by the hasty manner in which you handled the Mexican events of 1968. First, you cited the fact that 5,000 troops and 300 tanks moved against a mass, peaceful demonstration, murdering 50 demonstrators and wounding 1,000—all this getting only modest press coverage.

Then, in conclusion you stated, "it is instructive to compare the effectiveness of the Mexican students' tactics in 1968 with the terrorist tactics of the guerrillas at Munich." To readers who are not familiar with the Mexican events, your conclusion may have been rather unclear.

What happened Oct. 2, 1968, in Mexico City was a tragic culmination to a protest movement that had been growing for months. Thousands of people had been mobilized around political and economic demands. After the Oct. 2 tragedy, hundreds of students and youth were arrested, and the Mexican government unleashed a campaign of vicious political repression. However, the Mexican people continued to struggle. They built a massive national and international defense campaign, which finally forced the Mexican government to free those who were arrested.

The events in Mexico surrounding the massacre in October 1968 are instructive as examples of how to organize a mass movement. They also show the effectiveness of a massive defense campaign in forcing authorities to free political prisoners.

I hope this brief account will help clarify why the Mexican students' tactics were recommended by *The Militant* over the tactics of the Munich guerrillas.

Marilyn J. Vogt  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

### Munich (II)

Until reading the Sept. 15 issue of *The Militant*, I had never so much as glanced at your newspaper. I won't again.

Before I explain why, let me first tell you that I am and always have been a committed radical, in total and bitter opposition to America's death-dealing policies at home and abroad. But ideology aside, I am first against all forms of murder and tyranny, for any purpose, whether perpetrated by Jews, Arabs, Russians, U. S. pilots, Nigerians, Chinese, et al. The alternatives I seek must have a humane base or they merely become oppressive substitutes for the old order.

My objection to your attitude on the massacre is not primarily a political one: I am neither pro-Israel or pro-Arab (both warring camps are tools of anti-Humanist powers). Both sides have behaved in barbaric fashion since the day Israel became a state.

What disgusts me about your attitude is that you fail to show an ounce of compassion for the young athletes who were senselessly killed. May I remind you that they were human beings, with the same right to exist as the Mexicans who died in 1968, the Vietnamese who were slaughtered by the twisted hate of

Calley and his superiors, the Czechs who were crushed by Soviet despotism, and all the murdered blacks in America. I don't give a damn what rationale is used to excuse murder; it's still murder and will never, never accomplish a decent thing.

G. H. L.  
New York, N. Y.

### Munich (III)

I would like to write concerning the recent murderous terrorism carried out by a "far-out" anti-Semitic group of Arabs (Palestinians) against the Israeli Olympic team in Munich.

First, the Olympics were no place for any anti-Israeli act at all. Second, the act discredited, I'm sure, in the eyes of the majority of the people in the world, the Palestinian and Arab cause beyond hope of repair. Third, these terrorists were members of a truly anti-Semitic group, foreign from the Palestinian movement itself.

This act, as usual, will cause massive retaliation on the part of the Israeli Zionist government against any Palestinian and any Arab, individual and country, as it always has. The Zionist government of the settler state of Israel has continually adopted the same attitude of the U. S. Army and certain white American settlers in the old western migration.

If an act against a white settler was committed by a Kiowa Indian, for example, retaliation in mass set in. Any and all Indians would do. After all, they said, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." The Zionist government has adopted an identical attitude and reacts exactly like the Nazis as well, who murdered so many Jewish people. In other words, genocide.

In closing, I say the small anti-Semitic group of terrorists who carried out this dastardly act in Munich should be dealt with thoroughly and completely by the Palestinian liberation movement itself. Stop giving the Zionists a chance to commit mass genocide against the innocents.

Wayne Griggs  
Neches, Texas

### Munich (IV)

I wish to express my appreciation for your perceptive and courageous article on the Munich killings in the Sept. 15 issue.

Q. T.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

### Nixon best for U. S. rulers

George Breitman's article leaves me a little lost and at variance with his conclusion (that a McGovern victory would be better for the U. S. ruling class).

McGovern *before the elections*—when words, not deeds, are his arsenal—is qualitatively different from McGovern *in office*. His capability to talk about what he will do (which is to adopt a welfare state approach domestically), and the effect that talk has on radicalizing sectors of the population, may be quite different from what he can do when in office.

In the context of worsening social contradictions (worldwide overproduction, struggle over markets, war, inflation, pollution, etc.), a return to a welfare state approach may not be possible.





# The Great Society

Harry Ring

To the extent that McGovern in office could not resolve the rapidly advancing social crisis through welfare state measures, this would likely undermine the tenuous support he had initially received from the leftward moving layers of the population—which could (though not without bitter internal conflict within their ranks) force the bourgeoisie back over to the strong-state approach initiated by Nixon.

A welfare state approach relies conjuncturally on certain favorable conditions of dynamism for capital (as in the U.S. in the 1960s, the "Great Society" days), or on a relatively favorable position for separate nations while the rest approach more acute crises (as in the U.S. in the 1930s, the "New Deal" days), or on the morrow of a situation where strong-state measures are proving too volatile and destabilizing.

The first two don't hold for today. Breitman's conclusions come out of the last case. But the capacity of the ruling class to maintain welfare statism after a strong-state approach has failed will prove spurious if neither one of the first two conditions holds. Welfare statism would then collapse, sooner or later, depending on the progression of social contradictions, mass consciousness, and organization in the working class. This, I believe, would be McGovern's course.

The maneuvering room for either Nixon or McGovern is small and getting smaller. Neither can long rely on a welfare state approach. A McGovern victory would soon dispel any illusions in the radicalizing sectors about reformism, depending upon the vanguard's ability to intervene. A Nixon victory, even while alienating greater numbers of people, would still leave openings for such illusions, since liberal reformists would be the "out power."

The policy in either case, however, as Breitman points out, is to propagandize around the fact that neither capitalist party can serve the interests of the vast majority of Americans, and that only independent political expressions—parliamentary or extraparlimentary—are the correct way out.

The policies adopted by either Nixon or McGovern, and the effects these will have on mass consciousness and mass organizations, and consequently the policies themselves, will depend more on success in building such movements than on which capitalist party sits on the throne.

Walt Snyder  
Albany, N. Y.

## New reader

I was reading *The Militant* for the first time a couple of days ago [letter dated Sept. 15]. I am very much interested in socialism. I am a beginner right now but what I have read so far I find I can identify with.

I was reading the May 5 issue of *The Militant* and you had advertised "The Prison Revolt" in the May *International Socialist Review*. I would like to order that issue. A prisoner  
New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

**Hardly worth mentioning**—That atomic blast at Amchitka last November didn't set off a major earthquake as many scientists feared, so why the fuss, right? The Commerce Department now reports official scientific findings that the explosion precipitated 22 "relatively small" quakes over a three-month period.

**Now hear this**—Responding to the government ban on feeding cattle diethylstilbestrol (DES), some cattle growers will now simply implant pellets of the cancer-causing agent in the animals' ears. If the feds object, the growers are prepared to seek court relief against such un-American restrictions. Besides, some experts contend, while the stuff adds about half a pound a day to cattle, it's mostly only fat and water.



## Catch-22, Indian style

The Bridgeport Indian Colony is a group of 60 landless Indians in Mono County, California. Although they are living on land continuously occupied by their people since before whites came to California, the 19 families are "landless."

They are landless because in 1914, despite a law prohibiting the granting of land patents on land occupied by Indians, the General Land Office issued a patent to a non-Indian for the land occupied by the Bridgeport Indians.

The Bridgeport Indians continued to occupy the same land they always had. But in 1968 an heir of the grantee of the 1914 patent demanded that they vacate "his" land.

More than half the 19 families in the Bridgeport Indian Colony occupy dwellings with no running water; five homes have only wood-burning stoves for heat; only three of the families have someone fully employed.

The plight of these 60 Indians is one that requires more than what has been proposed by California Democrat Alan Cranston to the U. S. Senate. He is asking that the government grant the colony a federal trust land base. The 20 acres Cranston proposes be held in trust for the 19 families is not the land they now occupy. It is unoccupied public land nearby.

Even this modest plan, however, involving no more than allotting 20 unused acres to people whose land was stolen from them in the first place, has run into opposition from the federal bureaucracy. In a Sept. 6 speech on the Sen-



ate floor, Cranston explained the catch in the interior department's policy of not providing trust land for "unrecognized" tribes:

"Finally, I would like to speak to the question of Federal 'recognition.' As I understand it, an Indian is recognized by the Federal Government as an Indian if he is a member of a tribe or band which has a Federal trust land base. To be recognized means eligibility for the special Federal Indian services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service. Recognizing the importance of this, I inquired about how a tribe or band not now recognized gains the treasured status of Federal recognition. How? By living on Federal trust land. And how does a group of landless Indians obtain a Federal trust land base? Only by being recognized."

"And so, Mr. President, we have come up against Catch 22, Indian style. As you may recall, Catch 22 in Joseph Heller's well-known novel specified that a concern for one's own safety in the face of real and immediate dangers was the process of a rational mind. Thus, Orr, who was crazy, could be grounded. All he had to do was ask. But as soon as he asked, he would no longer be crazy and would have to fly more missions. Thus, he could never be grounded."

"The Bridgeport Indians are up against the same kind of absurd logic. The Department is saying to them that they cannot have a trust land base because they are not now recognized, but they cannot be recognized until they have a trust land base."

**Gov't surplus**—The city of St. Paul is removing 2.5 million pounds of "survival biscuits and 50,000 barrels of water stocked in city air raid shelters during the past decade. The water drums are rusted and leaking, and the biscuits, stale and rancid. Some of the biscuits will be compacted for landfill and the rest will supplement the diet of monkeys at the local zoo.

**Nicotine-crazed**—A New Yorker was stabbed in the chest when he rebuked a passenger for smoking in the subway.

**Conserving his resources**—Former Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, who enjoyed a reputation as a critic of big business and its antienvironmental practices, accepted the chairmanship of the Island Creek Coal Company, one of the world's largest.

"I recognize the irony of the situation," he observed philosophically. He said he hoped to use his post to contribute to the public interest and "to considerably increase Island Creek's profits."

**Little Red Sty**—We hear that Frank Rizzo, Philadelphia's law 'n' order mayor, is considering combining school and police stations as an economy measure.

**An American car dealer**—The *American Road*, a Ford house-organ, reports with quiet pride the quip of Ben Bidwell, a top company executive, about his own competitive sense: "I'll cheat my kids at cards if that's what it takes to win. Somebody once said, 'Winning is not the most important thing—it's the only thing!' I agree."

# The American Way of Life

Lee Smith

## The Militant Gets Around

Nancy Cole

York, N. Y. 10014 for 35 cents.

● A suggestion for supporters who might have a few hours free some Saturday: Take some sample *Militants* around to your local bookstores and newsstands and ask if they would be interested in receiving bundles regularly. After you get their initial agreement, the business office can handle the account, mailing them bundles each week and billing them.

As it is, people who happen to read a single copy of *The Militant* sometimes write for information about bookstore consignments. For example, this week we received requests for bundles from a subscriber in Springfield, Ill., who is part of a co-op bookstore there, and from a radical collective in Allentown, Pa., which is opening up a storefront information center.

The cost for newsstand and bookstore consignments is 12.5 cents each, and the mastheads of all unsold copies can be returned for full credit. The business office can provide back issues to use as sample copies.

● Four more areas have ordered weekly bundles of *The Militant*—a bundle of 25 from Sarasota, Fla.; 25 from Pittsburgh, Pa.; 20 from Augusta, Maine; and 10 from Wilson, N. C.



## A case of bad company

The sequel to the unfinished Hoffa trip to Hanoi is the unfinished business of hooking ex-Teamster President James Hoffa on a charge of associating with criminal elements while on parole. Under the circumstances, Hoffa's endorsement of Nixon's reelection bid may not be of much use to either of them.

The key figure in the conspiracy is William Taub, who represented Hoffa in negotiations with top government officials for the trip that never was. How Taub met Hoffa and was authorized to speak for him has not yet been revealed. However, some of Taub's activities prior to meeting Hoffa are being publicized.

Herbert Klein, Nixon's director of communications, admits that Taub was invited to the White House last winter to show a documentary film, "Mao's China." This was part of the White House staff's briefing for Nixon's February trip to Peking.

According to telegrams produced by Harold Gibbons, a vice-president of the Teamsters union and a recent visitor to Hanoi, Taub met with Hanoi's highest ranking diplomat, Le Duc Tho, sometime in March or early April. He arranged for himself, Gibbons, and Hoffa to go to Hanoi. Gibbons says the invitation was extended by Hoang Quoc, vice-president of the North Vietnamese trade unions.

After meeting with Hoffa in April, Taub then met

with Nixon's top aide, Henry Kissinger, at the summer White House in San Clemente, Calif. Gibbons was present at this meeting, and it was there that the possibility of Hoffa bringing back U.S. war prisoners from Hanoi was discussed.

Following this meeting with Kissinger, Hoffa's parole officer granted a 30-day leave to Hoffa to make the trip to Paris and Hanoi. Deputy Attorney General Ralph Erickson discussed the proposed trip and other matters with Taub. A U.S. passport for Hoffa, with a visa to enter North Vietnam, was issued. All this is in the record.

Also in the record is the fact that Secretary of State William Rogers voided Hoffa's Hanoi visa at 5:30 p.m., Sept. 7, just when Hoffa was preparing to depart from New York to Paris. Subsequently Attorney General Richard Kleindienst charged that Taub sought a deal with the Justice Department to change the conditions of Hoffa's parole.

It is now revealed from Secret Service files and other sources that Taub has been a confidence man since 1932. He is a hustler who has represented himself as the agent of Pope Paul VI's film interests, and a promoter who has tried without authorization to sell property of others, including Chaplin films and the MGM building in Paris.

Frank Lovell



About 60 years old, Taub seems to have prospered. Now in Paris, he travels almost as freely and frequently from country to country as Henry Kissinger. He wears good clothes, eats well, lives in fashionable quarters, and visits all the right people. He prefers to promote deals secretly, seeking only guarded publicity. Like Kissinger, he is thought by some to serve a useful purpose.

According to the *New York Times*, the U.S. Secret Service judged Taub "clever but harmless to the life of the president." Like many of his associates, Taub apparently has not been convicted of any crime.

Always a dabbler in politics, Taub reportedly occupied a box adjacent to Eisenhower at the inaugural ball in Washington in 1956. There is no published record of his ever having made it into the White House, however, until his visit there this year. Once inside, Taub must have felt right at home with all the other fixers who swarm around the Nixon administration, some of whom have achieved high positions in government.

Just the same, this is no gang for a man in James Hoffa's present position to get mixed up with if he can help it. They are liable to make him the fall guy, and a two-time loser suffers a loss of prestige along with other more tangible assets and privileges.

## Women In Revolt

### Union women fight for rights

Contrary to the myth spread by bourgeois commentators and even by some sectors of the radical movement, women's liberation does not just appeal to "middle-class women." As the new awakening of women has been rapidly expanding these past few years, the interest in fighting against the oppression of women is beginning to affect working women and women within the organized trade-union movement.

In fact, working women and women of working-class families have the most to gain through their liberation and will become the most essential and powerful components of struggles concerning all aspects of female oppression.

Last spring the Missouri Teamsters held a conference of women workers that discussed and debated various aspects of the problems of women in American society. The conference voted in favor of abortion law repeal and equal job opportunities, and recognized the need to escalate the struggles of working women to win these demands.

The women's liberation movement has also affected the attitude women have about themselves

as wage earners, and traditionally all-male occupations are constantly being challenged—carpenters, electricians, telephone installers. It was reported in the Sept. 9 *New York Times* that four women are seeking jobs as miners in Cleveland, Va.

More than 450 women attended a recent conference on equal rights and opportunities for working women sponsored by the International United Auto Workers. An article in the September issue of the UAW newspaper, *Solidarity*, says, "The consensus of this first International conference for UAW women was: UAW women . . . want an equal chance to participate in all levels of union activities, and they want a bigger voice in union affairs."

The article continued, "In our society today," said Mrs. Davis [UAW women's department director], "women are paid less, hired last, promoted least and given the most boring jobs. They are the first laid off in a recession, as we are now experiencing, and will be the last recalled."

"Women," she told the delegates, "are going to get out of their local unions just what they put

Carol Lipman



into them. If you really want something, organize to get it."

The Sept. 2 *AFL-CIO News* reported that the "Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) filed sex discrimination charges against Westinghouse Corporation, charging that the firm failed to afford employees disabled by pregnancy the same disability benefits allowed to other workers.

"The IUE represents nearly 40,000 Westinghouse Workers. About one third are women.

"Specifically, the IUE complaint," continues *AFL-CIO News*, "filed on a nation-wide basis, charges Westinghouse with:

"Failing to accord employees who are disabled by pregnancy or childbirth the right to accrue and retain seniority, to accrue holiday and vacation pay, to accrue pension credits, to return to their former jobs when able to return to work and to receive disability and sickness pay when disabled.

"Discharging females who become pregnant, or attempting by coercion to obtain resignations. . . ."

## By Any Means Necessary

### Black woman elected in Canada

On Aug. 30 Rosemary Brown became the first Black woman in Canada ever elected to a provincial Parliament seat. Brown, a member of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, was elected in the Vancouver-Burrard district in the British Columbia elections. Emery Barnes, another Black NDP candidate, was also elected.

Brown won a decisive victory over opponents from three capitalist parties: Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit. According to the Sept. 8 issue of *Contrast*, a Toronto-based Black newspaper, she said, "we did not skirt the issues. We did not hide the fact that we wanted women to vote for women. We found the response fantastic . . . [the campaign was] fought as women and won as women."

In addition to campaigning for women's rights, Brown also campaigned for the rights of homosexuals and Indians. The Aug. 24 *Vancouver Sun* reports that when asked at one public meeting about the high unemployment rate of Native Canadians, Brown replied, "equal opportunities are not good enough for Indians. They have 400 years

of catching-up to do. They need special measures."

Although the NDP has a reformist leadership, the party is based on the trade unions and signifies the break of the Canadian working class with the political parties of capital. The election of Brown and other like-minded NDP candidates reflects the impact on the party of the growing radicalization in British Columbia.

● In this country, controversy continues to rage over hiring practices and quotas in federally funded jobs.

The initial agreement to assign hiring quotas for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities came as a result of several mass actions in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and other places in 1969 over federally related hiring practices. These large actions protested the discriminatory policies that virtually exclude Blacks from federal and public construction jobs.

The quota system seeks to put a percentage of oppressed nationalities in federal and public jobs in relation to their percentage in the population as a whole.

Baxter Smith



Opposition to this system has come from officials of the conservative building trades unions, some national Jewish figures, and others interested in maintaining white job privileges. Some politicians who are soliciting their support for the 1972 elections have also joined the bandwagon.

President Nixon has recently spoken out against job quotas. They are not an "appropriate means of achieving equal employment opportunity," he said, according to the Sept. 10 *New York Times*.

McGovern, not to be left out, echoed Nixon's view. "I reject the quota system as detrimental to American society," the *Times* quoted him as saying.

McGovern's position has evoked a sharp cry from some of his Black Democratic supporters. Before his nomination, McGovern had told some of these supporters that he would give 10 percent of federal patronage jobs within each state to Blacks if he were elected.

McGovern's real attitude to the plight of Blacks and other national minorities in relation to federal jobs only helps to point out that this Democrat's interests remain far from the needs of Blacks.

# Militant subscription drive off to good start with 2,000 new subs

By NANCY COLE

SEPT. 19 — Four days after the opening of the fall subscription drive for 33,000 new readers, the scoreboard registers an impressive beginning with 2,049 subscriptions. So far 47 areas have contributed to the subscription effort, and 21 of them are on schedule (listed in boldface on the scoreboard).

Most areas that began organizing their drives early are now ahead of schedule. Those areas with especially large quotas leading the subscription campaign are Portland, with close to 20 percent of its quota completed; the Twin Cities, with more than 13 percent; and Brooklyn, with 11 percent.

*International Socialist Review* subscriptions now total 164 out of a goal of 3,300. A goal of one *ISR* sub for every 10 *Militant* subscriptions sold has been projected. Eleven areas are on schedule, but special efforts should be made now in the beginning of the drive if *ISR* subscriptions are to keep up.

The more than 2,000 *Militant* subscriptions already sent in is especially significant considering that 15 of the 17 Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley subscription teams are not yet on the road. These teams have each pledged to get 700 of the 33,000 subscriptions.

From San Francisco Chris Hildebrand reports that three sellers sold 25 subscriptions in an hour at San Francisco State College. And one supporter there has already sold seven subscriptions to her co-workers in a

print shop.

Reports received from Boston, Portland, and the Twin Cities indicate that interest in the 1972 elections and the SWP campaign is prevalent among new subscribers this fall. With teams going onto campuses three times and



Militant/Dave Warren

277 subscriptions sold, Twin Cities sub drive director, Diane Groth, writes,

"The most noticeable aspect of our subscription drive has been the interest in the SWP campaign and the special campaign subscription offer of 20 weeks for \$1. Not only are *Militant* subs easier to sell because of the special offer but also because of the

mood and interest in politics and the fact that they can get a paper that brings them news each week about the social movements and their development around the country as well as the world."

Portland's first night of sending out subscription teams yielded 66 subscriptions. According to Bill Scheer, sub drive director, "One striking feature of sub selling has been the general lack of enthusiasm for the McGovern campaign. Rarely do you see a poster of him or run into any arguments from his supporters. Even his strong supporters are interested in getting all sides of the elections."

This fall's subscription drive is the largest in our history, and we need the help of our supporters to make it a success. Readers from Allentown, Pa.; Saranac Lake, N.Y.; Youngstown, Ohio; and Chicago, Ill.; responded to the appeal we printed in the Sept. 8 *Militant*.

You can help too by taking a subscription quota of whatever you think you can sell by Nov. 22.

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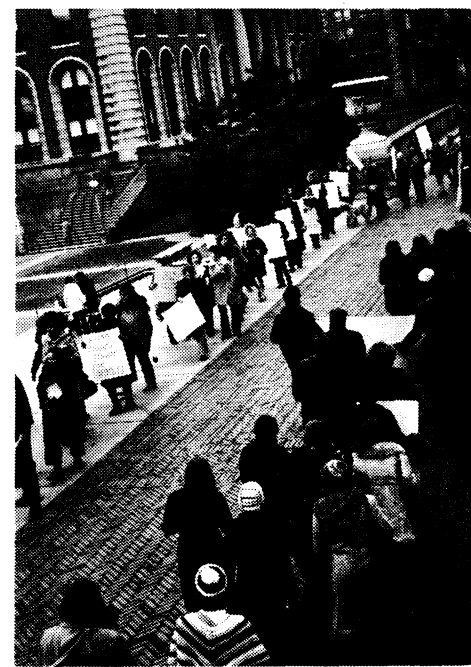
# Columbia maids win 8-month battle

By RUTH CHENEY

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 15 — Today the members of Local 241 of the Transport Workers Union at Columbia University voted to accept a contract guaranteeing that 30 maids threatened with layoffs since last January will not be fired. This victory culminates an eight-month-long battle against the university's sexist treatment of women employees.

The new contract remedies many of the discriminatory policies toward female maintenance workers. In addition to preventing the firing of the maids, the contract provides for merging the seniority lists of maids and janitors. In the event of a future lay-off, any maid or janitor can "bump" any employee in any division of the maintenance department who has less seniority.

The sex-typed titles of "maid" and "janitor" are to be abolished and replaced with the categories of "light-duty" and "heavy-duty" cleaners. Seven women are now being trained as heavy-duty cleaners, and six more are to enter this category. Two of the original 30 maids have already taken higher-paying jobs as university guards. The new contract preserves the two separate pay scales that existed for maids and janitors but stipu-



Militant/Julie Simon

**Columbia maids and supporters picket.**

lates that the work load for light-duty cleaners will be reduced.

During the spring of 1972, the Women's Affirmative Action Coalition, a group involving Columbia maids, women faculty, students, staff, and administrators, held five demonstrations demanding that the maids not be fired. The actions called for equal pay for maids, who performed the same work as janitors for less pay.

The maids, who are all Black or Latin, also received support from Transport Workers Union President Matthew Guinan, who threatened a strike at Columbia, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

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AREA	QUOTA	SUBS					
Pittsburgh, Pa.	5	6	Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	1,250	95	San Antonio, Texas	50
Madison, Wis.	200	72	Los Angeles, Calif.	1,900	137	Philadelphia, Pa.	1,050
Boulder, Colo.	175	46	Houston, Texas	1,050	65	Chicago, Ill.	2,500
Bloomington, Ind.	350	89	Denver, Colo.	1,250	74	Edinboro, Pa.	60
Hartford, Conn.	125	25	Cincinnati, Ohio	100	5	Santa Barbara, Calif.	75
Wichita Falls, Texas	15	3	Youngstown, Ohio	20	1	Detroit, Mich.	1,500
Portland, Ore.	700	138	Washington, D.C.	900	40	Gary, Ind.	100
Nashville, Tenn.	20	3	San Francisco, Calif.	2,050	89	San Diego, Calif.	400
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,700	227	Allentown, Pa.	50	2	College Park, Md.	175
Storrs, Conn.	25	3	Durham, N.H.	50	2	Binghamton, N.Y.	200
Brooklyn, N.Y.	1,250	138	Long Island, N.Y.	100	4	Alfred, N.Y.	10
Champaign, Ill.	10	1	New Haven, Conn.	25	1	Amherst, Mass.	150
Cleveland, Ohio	1,300	122	Phoenix, Ariz.	50	2	Bethlehem, Pa.	10
Upper West Side, N.Y.	1,250	112	Seattle, Wash.	950	38	Kansas City, Mo.	150
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	200	17	St. Louis, Mo.	120	4	Red Bank, N.J.	50
Austin, Texas	550	45	Boston, Mass.	2,500	80	Saranac Lake, N.Y.	30
Burlington, Vt.	25	2	Tallahassee, Fla.	150	4	Worcester, Mass.	175
Sarasota, Fla.	25	2	Atlanta, Ga.	1,250	28	General	500
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	2,200	174	Providence, R.I.	200	4	National Teams	1,400
						<b>TOTAL TO DATE</b>	<b>2,049</b>
						<b>GOAL</b>	<b>33,000</b>

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# YSA leaders begin nat'l speaking tour

By CAROLINE FOWLKES

This fall three national leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance will tour college campuses across the country to gain support for the Socialist Workers Party's election campaign and to urge participation in the Twelfth Young Socialist National Convention scheduled for Cleveland, Nov. 23-26.

The three speakers, Geoff Mirelowitz, Sam Manuel, and Delfine Welch, will make six-day stops in a total of 17 major cities. They will speak before campus audiences, engage in debates with supporters of George McGovern and Richard Nixon, and appear on local radio and TV.

Geoff Mirelowitz, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee, will tour the Western states. Mirelowitz, a leading activist in the antiwar movement since 1964, traveled to Paris in 1971, where he met with leaders of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam's delegation to the Paris peace talks as well as with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. While in Paris, he brought greetings to a rally of more than 3,000.

Delfine Welch will tour the Midwest and East Coast. Welch is presently on the National Executive Committee of the YSA and was one of the founders of Cell 16 and Female Liberation in Boston, two of the first women's liberation organizations to develop in the new wave of feminism. She also chaired the recent Women's National Abortion Action Conference held in New York City in July and is playing an active role in the abortion law repeal movement.

Sam Manuel is a 22-year-old Black liberation and antiwar activist and a member of the YSA's National Committee. Manuel will tour Southern campuses, where he is known through a recent tour there helping to organize support for the May 27 African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D. C., and the SWP's presidential campaign.

When asked what she sees as the purpose of the tours, Welch replied, "Many people are unhappy with Nixon and have questions about McGovern. As socialists, we want to let students know there is a presidential candidate who is opposed to the war, but who will not turn around the next

day and tell you she will leave troops in Vietnam if elected.

"When Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers candidate, comes out for the right of women to control their bodies, she doesn't then tell women that abortion is irrelevant, as McGovern did. When Linda says she believes in self-determination for the Black community, she definitely *does not* endorse such racists as Daley and Hanrahan!"



Militant/Flax Hermes

## Delfine Welch

The three speakers will invite young people to support the Socialist Workers campaign along with the 12,000 others who have endorsed the campaign.

"The last stop of our tours," says Manuel, "will be in Cleveland at Thanksgiving, where we will meet with hundreds of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and members of the Young Socialist Alliance at the Young Socialist National Convention.

"We are inviting each person we meet to join us there to talk about what we should do after the elections. There will be workshops and panels on such issues as abortion, high school rights, Black and Raza students, the antiwar movement, and others. We hope to bring many young people with us to this important convention."

Mirelowitz feels that by talking to students, he can convince many of them to join the YSA. "It's true that the most effective way to build the movements for change in this country is to become a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. We think we have the program that will do it."

# Argentine to tour in defense of prisoners

NEW YORK—The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has announced a nationwide speaking tour on Argentina in response to the recent shooting of 19 political prisoners there. USLA reports that in Córdoba alone, following this massacre of political prisoners, there were two general strikes and 600 people were arrested.

The purpose of the tour will be to explain and publicize the situation in Argentina and to organize a campaign for the defense of the victims of the military dictatorship. Elena Rodríguez, the speaker for USLA, was a student at the University of La Plata in Argentina when the Onganía dictatorship seized power in 1966.

Rodríguez was one of those sentenced to prison for the "crime" of protesting and resisting military intervention on the campus. Unable to continue her education because of her role in the student movement, she went to work in a meat-packing plant, where she was fired because of her activity in the union. Currently, she is active in the defense of political prisoners in Argentina.

Rodríguez's tour will begin in Boston on Oct. 16 and will run until Dec. 12. She will speak in cities throughout the U.S. and Canada. Anyone interested in helping to set up a meeting for her should contact USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

Ferdinand Marcos. They protested the fact that they were being made homeless while the government permitted the businesses and apartment buildings to remain on the waterways.

The report on the new squatters movement in the Sept. 1 issue of the *New York Times* noted that "Increasingly, the demonstrations have taken the form of general attacks on the administration of President Marcos and the city government of Mayor Ramón Bagatsing."

# Racist officials ignore rape of Chicana

By MARTA RICHMOND

SAN DIEGO — On May 31 Martha Elena Parra López, a young *mexicana*, reported to U.S. authorities that Kenneth W. Cocke, a border patrol officer, had kidnapped and raped her. More than three months have passed and the only action taken by U.S. authorities has been to suspend the officer for 30 days. A federal grand jury has begun hearings on the case.

The events began in Chula Vista, Calif., at the home of a friend, according to López, when no documentation was found on her or her two female companions.

The three women were then transported to the border patrol office in San Ysidro. One of the officers then made sexist remarks to López, drove her and her two companions to the border, and demanded that the two women leave and Martha López stay. As a show of solidarity, the two companions refused to leave. Then they were all driven to a remote border area, where they were bodily threatened if they did not comply with the demand.

After her companions left, the officer struggled with Martha López and forcibly raped her, with the racist remark, "I hope you don't have a disease."

A medical examination at County University Hospital revealed injury to López's vaginal area.

The whole affair has been hushed and whitewashed by the authorities, who tried to treat it as simply a civil rights violation rather than a criminal offense by the border patrol officer. In August, Martha López and her two companions filed suit against the officer, charging him with false imprisonment, battery, and rape.

Racism and sexism have been blatant in the whole incident, far from the first of its kind. Officials are now even implying that López accepted the rape willingly. They have also referred to the *mexicanas* involved as "wetbacks."

Chicano leaders are demanding to know why the patrol officer has not been charged and brought to justice. "If the suspect had been Chicano, he would have been in jail long ago," said Herman Baca, San Diego county organizer of La Raza Unida Party.

He continued: "This travesty of justice only serves to symbolize the immorality, brutality, and all the injustices that are committed against Mexicans and Chicanos daily along the international border by the racist Immigration Department."

# Philippine squatters protest eviction

A protest movement has developed in the Philippines among the 100,000 inhabitants of shantytowns along the waterways through Manila. In the wake of the worst floods in Philippine history—which took place in June, July, and early August—the government is attempting to evict the squatters from their homes as a flood-prevention measure.

Since the floods it has come to light that pollution and industrial practices were largely responsible for the vast damages caused by the floods. The flood waters could not drain off because the city waterways were clogged by refuse, by the shanties, and by affluent business and apartment buildings built over the waterways. The waters were also uncontrollable because of land denuded of trees from indiscriminate logging and because of gaps in the dikes resulting from the negligence of land owners.

The last week in August saw a demonstration of 1,500 squatters, who marched on the residence of President

## YOU PROBABLY GREW UP BELIEVING IN 'THE LAND OF THE FREE'

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# Black GI put on trial on 'fragging' charge

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER  
SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 16 — The prosecution opened its case on Sept. 12 in the court-martial of Billy Dean Smith. Smith, a Black GI, is charged with the murder by hand grenade ("fragging") of two Army officers at Bien Hoa, Vietnam, on March 15, 1971.

Smith pleaded "not guilty" to the charges when the trial opened on Sept. 6. The first GI to be tried inside the United States for a fragging, he has been held in solitary confinement in a five-by-nine-foot cell since being returned to the U. S. more than a year ago.

As the trial opened 300 people picketed in support of Smith outside the gates of Fort Ord, the California Army base where the trial is being held. The action was sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The only evidence against Smith is a grenade pin that the Army claims to have found in Smith's pocket after his arrest. The Army has tried to back up its charges by citing Smith's antiwar views, his lack of enthusiasm for "closing with the enemy," and his statements that certain officers were racists.

The Army has not reported any witnesses who can place Billy Dean Smith at the scene of the fragging. However, the prosecuting attorney announced in his opening remarks on Sept. 12 that he will call 18 witnesses to prove that the two officers who died in the Bien Hoa fragging were killed by mistake in an attempt by Smith to murder the company commander and first sergeant.

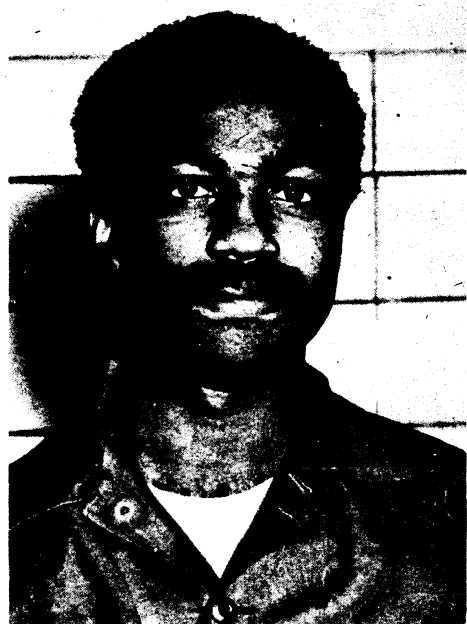
The two officers who were allegedly the targets of the explosion arrived soon afterwards and ordered the arrest of Billy Dean Smith.

Prosecution witness Harold Hazard, the chief Army investigator of the fragging, testified that he and the company commander, Rigby, found little evidence at the scene of the explosion. But Rigby ordered Smith's arrest on the basis of his first sergeant's repeated assertions that Smith was guilty of the deed.

The company was called to attention in the early hours of the morning, about an hour and a half after the explosion. Billy Dean Smith was called "front and center" (before all potential witnesses) and arrested for murder by agents of the Army Central In-

vestigation Division. After Smith was seized, Hazard continued, he shouted that a grenade pin had been planted in his pocket by the CID agents.

In cross-examination, chief defense counsel Luke McKissack established that Hazard's courtroom testimony that one man was seen running from the scene of the explosion contradicts his pretrial statements that mention two men running away.



Billy Dean Smith

The defense won a preliminary victory on the opening day of the trial. McKissack obtained a ruling that the imposition of the death penalty against Billy Dean Smith could be ruled out since military law is subject to the June 29 Supreme Court decision prohibiting capital punishment in cases in which it may be imposed by discretion of the court.

However, on Sept. 12 Judge Rawles Frazier denied a defense motion to dismiss the nine-member jury ("court-martial board") on the grounds that the board members did not qualify as peers of Private Smith. The board, McKissack argued, is a "blue-ribbon panel of career officers" chosen beforehand. In accordance with military law, Smith may be convicted on the basis of only five "guilty" votes.

Smith's court martial, which is open to the public, begins at 9 a.m., Tuesdays through Fridays, at Fort Ord. Observers should arrive about one hour in advance.

# Irish Republicans in U.S. hold nat'l meet

By DAVE FRANKEL  
CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Sept. 17 — The first annual convention of the Irish Republican Clubs of the USA and Canada (IRC) was held here yesterday and today. More than 100 delegates and observers attended. IRC groups from New York; Chicago; Boston; Los Angeles; Berkeley; Philadelphia; Springfield, Mass.; and Portland, Maine, were represented.

The formalization of a structure for the organization was seen as a necessary step to carry out future actions, and most of the discussion at the convention concerned the proposed constitution of the IRC.

Delegates overwhelmingly rejected an exclusionary clause that had been included in the constitution as originally proposed. The clause would have excluded from membership in the IRC any person who was "a member of any political party organization."

Various organizational reports were heard. Seamus O Tuathail, the editor

of the *Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association Journal*, reported on the situation in Ireland. O Tuathail is also a former editor of *The United Irishman*, the organ of the official Republican movement in Ireland.

O Tuathail is the first person interned by the British in Northern Ireland to smuggle out an account of the treatment meted out to the internees. He will be speaking at meetings in the U. S. and Canada over the coming weeks as part of a tour sponsored by the IRC.

Resolutions in solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people and in opposition to laws that discriminate against women, including those prohibiting abortion, were passed. Moira Bradshaw of New York was elected president of the IRC.

Greetings to the convention were received from the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists, National Peace Action Coalition, National Association for Irish Freedom, and the New York Anti-Internment Coalition.

# Miss. jury frames up nationalist for murder

By LEE SMITH  
Offaga Quaddus (Wayne James), one of 11 members of the Republic of New Africa jailed on frame-up charges after an Aug. 18, 1971, police assault on the RNA's Jackson, Miss., headquarters, was convicted of murder by a Jackson jury Sept. 14.

The verdict, reached after five hours of deliberation, makes Quaddus the second of the RNA 11 to be convicted for murder in connection with the shooting death of a single cop. Last May 3, another Jackson jury convicted Hekima Ana (Thomas Norman) on the same charge.

Ana was convicted on purely circumstantial evidence of having fired the fatal bullet during the cop attack on the RNA. In Quaddus's trial, the prosecution did not even attempt to prove that the defendant killed the cop. The state argued that he was guilty because he had fired his weapon at the time the cop was shot.

The evidence presented to establish that Quaddus had fired a weapon was the same inconclusive evidence used in Ana's trial: that Quaddus's fingerprints were found on a semiautomatic rifle in the headquarters. Ana is appealing his conviction, and Quaddus will undoubtedly do the same.

Nine more trials remain in this racist frame-up aimed at destroying the Republic of New Africa. Six of the

11 have obtained bail. The RNA president, Imari Abubakari Obadele, is among those still in jail. He is being held in lieu of \$75,000 bail.

On July 31, when Andrew Pulley was in Jackson to file nominating petitions to place his name and that of Linda Jenness on the Mississippi ballot, the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate attempted to see Obadele and the other RNA prisoners. He was not allowed a visit, but he sent a written interview via the prisoners' attorneys.

In part of the response to this interview, Obadele wrote to Pulley: "It is important to understand that despite all the talk of violence that surrounds the RNA—and our Government is unflinchingly committed to self-defense—we have opened no armed struggle in Mississippi. We are forced into a defensive armed struggle. . . . But we are attempting to achieve our goals—reparations and the liberation of [Mississippi's 25 western counties]—by diplomatic and parliamentary means. . . ." [Emphasis in original.]

Contributions and requests for more information on how to help fight these frame-ups can be sent in care of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, P. O. Box 5174, Jackson, Miss. 39216.

# U.S. pollution bill puts action off until 1985

By LEE SMITH  
A House-Senate Conference committee on Sept. 14 passed the final version of a water pollution control bill that would allow U. S. industries to continue dumping poisons into the nation's rivers, lakes, and streams until 1985.

The measure was originally introduced Feb. 2, 1971, by Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) as an alternative to the administration bill introduced a short time later. It may wind up being vetoed by President Nixon because of its \$24-billion price tag.

The new legislation extends water quality standards to all navigable waters and the contiguous oceans within the 12-mile limit. It requires the adoption of new, stricter standards on industrial discharges. It sets deadlines of 1977 for the installation of the "best practicable" pollution control technology and 1983 for the "best available" technology.

This technology involves using the latest "closed-cycle" systems, which extract pollutants from the water before it is recycled, rather than just treating it before discharging it.

The two key and interrelated provisions of the measure as passed are the deadlines and the enforcement and penalties it specifies. It is here that the proposed law's glaring weakness is most apparent.

Effective "closed-cycle" control systems are available now. While they will no doubt be upgraded in the next 12 years, there is no reason to wait that long to require their use. No reason, that is, except concern for protecting the polluters' profits.

The enforcement machinery originally proposed by Muskie would have given the Environmental Protection Agency power to issue abatement orders and seek court injunctions. As passed, the bill allows the EPA only to authorize court action, not to initiate it.

The penalties provided in the bill, about the same as those in the original measure, make violators sub-

ject to a maximum \$25,000 fine and one-year prison sentence for a first conviction and just double that for subsequent convictions.

The combination of loose enforcement mechanisms that make possible drawn-out procedural delays with penalties far cheaper for businesses than compliance encourages resistance by industry.

Even before his bill was weakened, Muskie stressed that the 1985 goal was not "set in concrete." Howling bloody murder at the cost to business of both Muskie's bill and the original House bill, which was even weaker than the final compromise, the *Wall Street Journal* labeled the 12-year deadline on ending water pollution as "unrealistic," "eccentric," and "Paradise."

It is this reactionary sentiment of capitalists who will preserve their profits even at the cost of destroying the water supply that lies behind the weakness of the bill now before Nixon.

Effective action against pollution cannot be taken by Democrats and Republicans, who are dedicated to upholding the power of these profit-seeking rulers.



# New evidence revealed

# Communist Party aided first Smith Act frame-up



First Smith Act victims: Minneapolis 18 on their way to jail, Dec. 31, 1943

By **GEORGE NOVACK**

The Communist Party leadership not only applauded the convictions of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 in 1941 under the anticonstitutional Smith Act but urged on the U.S. Department of Justice and supplied its officials with extensive materials for use in the case.

**George Novack was the national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.**

This information comes from Earl Browder, head of the CP at that time. It is part of an article entitled "The Rise and Fall of Earl Browder," published in the spring 1972 issue of the London quarterly *Survey*.

Its author is Philip J. Jaffe, the well-known writer and publisher of *Amerasia* magazine, who was himself a target of the witch-hunters during the 1940s and 1950s. Jaffe has been a close friend of Browder's for 35 years and negotiated for the publication of his memoirs.

The Minneapolis case was the first federal prosecution under the Smith "gag" act, passed in 1940. The law was later used to convict 11 of the top CP leaders, who were given long sentences. By helping the Roosevelt administration put the SWP leaders behind bars, the Stalinists greased the way for Truman to railroad the CP leaders to jail 10 years later.

It has long been known that the American CP and its *Daily Worker* endorsed the victimizations of the SWP and Teamster officers. They exerted themselves to prevent labor and liberal organizations from supporting the defense of the 18, ignoring James P. Cannon's warning in the Minneapolis courtroom that the prosecution of the Trotskyists, if successful, would be directed against others.

Despite the Stalinist obstruction, 150 international and local unions, representing more than five million workers, supported the objectives of the Civil Rights Defense Committee that handled the defense campaign.

Now Browder has revealed, in Jaffe's words, that, in addition to its public stand, "the Party prepared for the Department of Justice an important collection of documents to help prove the guilt of the Socialist Workers Party." Jaffe states that "a set of the above described documents was given to me by Earl Browder in the late fifties."

The 14 documents, marked Exhibit A, B, C, etc., consisted of two pamphlets, "War and the Fourth International," dated 1934, and "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," dated 1940; four complete issues of the *International Bulletin for Members Only*, dated August and September 1942; and several pages from the monthly, *Fourth International*, and from the weekly, *The Militant*, for the year 1942.

"In some of the exhibits the pertinent wording was underlined in red," writes Jaffe. "In addition to the documents there was added a 24-page typed manuscript, many of the pages single-spaced, entitled 'The Fifth Column Role of the Trotskyites in the United States.'"

One of the underlined passages from Exhibit C is the following excerpt from "A Statement on the War," written by James P. Cannon in January 1942. The SWP national secretary said: "We consider the war on the part of all the capitalist powers involved—Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain—as an *imperialist* war. . . . The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan changed nothing in this basic analysis. Following Lenin, it made no difference to us which imperialist

bandit fired the first shot. . . . No imperialist regime can conduct a just war. We cannot support it for one moment."

The extent of the CP treachery is made unmistakably clear in the sentences from the last page of the manuscript, entitled "In Conclusion," which advised J. Edgar Hoover's FBI and Roosevelt's attorney general to crush the Trotskyists as subversive agents of fascism.

"Being a sabotage organization, concentrating upon the disruption of the war effort, the Trotskyites do not require a large organization. On the contrary, a smaller group is more easily controlled and efficient for their purposes. . . . The dangerous efficiency of this small group is shown by the fact that it succeeded in obtaining aid for the convicted Minneapolis traitors from the AFL and CIO unions representing 1,000,000 workers [exhibit M]. . . . This core of saboteurs is small, but its underground influence is large. Remove the core and you wreck a strong fascist weapon in America."

The false accusation that the Trotskyists engaged in sabotage was lifted directly from the Moscow Trial frame-ups, which the CP sought to export to this country in connection with the government frame-up of the SWP.

## Fink act

The documented disclosure of the collusion of the Stalinist leaders with the capitalist government will come as a shock to many in its ranks and even to some who have broken with the CP and learned to mistrust it.

They are bound to ask: How could the CP leaders have committed a fink act that not only violated the elementary principle of class solidarity but was so self-defeating? Couldn't they at least have foreseen the dangerous consequences to themselves?

To explain such conduct it is nec-

essary to understand the nature of Stalinism and its policies.

Through the Moscow Trials, Stalin had falsely proclaimed the Trotskyists to be the worst enemies of the Soviet Union, assassins, wreckers, poisoners, and agents of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and the Mikado. The American CP has been among the most docile servitors of Moscow, unreservedly following every twist and turn of its foreign policy from Stalin to Brezhnev.

For example, from the Stalin-Hitler Pact in 1939 to the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the CP characterized the impending intervention of the United States into World War II as imperialist. Jaffe publishes the texts of two radio messages secretly sent to Browder from the Comintern fixing this line.

The CP reversed its position overnight after June 22, 1941, and became the most rabid patriots, backing Roosevelt to the hilt. Jaffe also reveals that Browder had indirect communication with the president during the war years through Josephine Adams and Eleanor Roosevelt in which he fingered liberal and left-wing critics of the administration.

The Stalinists singled out the Trotskyists for special attack because, as the most consistent opponents of the imperialist war-makers, they were the most effective expositors of both Roosevelt's reactionary moves and Stalin's course. (Despite its condemnation of Stalin's crimes, the SWP called for defending the Soviet Union against Hitler's attack, just as it defended the U.S. Communists against the government attacks during the witch-hunt years.)

## 'Peaceful coexistence'

However, the close, if episodic, complicity of the American CP with the capitalist rulers had a more fundamental explanation. It flowed from the theory of "socialism in one country," and the policy of "peaceful coexistence" coupled with it, that was initiated by Stalin and is still preached and practiced by his successors.

The following rationale is given for this disastrous line. Since the Soviet Union is the leading state engaged in building "socialism," and now "communism," within its borders, all Communist parties must keep in step with the Kremlin's shifting relations with the capitalist powers, regardless of the cost. In this way the interests of the masses and their revolutionary struggle for socialism in the rest of the world are subordinated and sacrificed to the dictates of the Soviet bureaucracy, which considers them expendable.

Thus, in the pursuit of "peaceful coexistence," the CPs in the tow of the Kremlin are mandated to seek alliances, or, more precisely, to kowtow before the "progressive" and "peace-loving" sectors of the bourgeoisie being courted by Moscow.

That is why the CP castigated Roosevelt as an imperialist warmonger during the German-Soviet pact. And that is why it worked with his federal prosecutors to silence and repress socialist and union oppositionists during the war.

Why should the CP's crimes of yesterday be raked up now, it might be asked. Wasn't Browder deposed in 1945? Hasn't the CP since admitted it made a costly mistake in the Minneapolis case that deepened its isolation during the witch-hunt years by giving numerous union leaders who recalled it a pretext for refusing to fight the government attacks upon the civil liberties of the Communists?

This shameful blot upon the record of the CP has more than historical interest. It has contemporary relevance. The CP and its press today keeps charging that the "Trotskyite disrupters" are agents of imperialism and guilty of other nefarious activities.

**Continued on page 22**

# World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1972

## Pakistan

### Large-scale arrests of leftists, unionists

By Javed Hussein

Lahore

Thousands of political activists, belonging to a wide spectrum of political parties and striking trade-unionists in different parts of Pakistan, have been arrested under emergency regulations. Both the ruling parties—President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP) and Wali Khan's

National Awami party (NAP)—have justified the arrests with the old, familiar phrases used during the military dictatorships and originally formulated by British imperialism.

The NAP, which includes a whole variety of pro-Moscow "Communists," is in power in two provinces, the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. In the NWFP it shares power with a religious party called Jamaat-Ulema-Islam. The NAP-JUI coalition has proved to be as reactionary in its day-to-day governing of the province as previous administrations. In the province's worsening tenant-landlord situation, the NAP (whose membership includes a fair number of landlords) has consistently opposed the tenants and has recently imprisoned fifty leading militants of the Mazdoor-Kissan party, a semi-Maoist political formation, because of their "disruptive activities."

In Baluchistan the NAP government is also reported to have imprisoned nearly 400 political workers and peasants and expelled a few political opponents from the province. Not to be outdone, the PPP governments in the remaining two provinces, Punjab and

Sind, have resorted to large-scale arrests in order to curb the opposition from both the right and the left. In Sind alone nearly 1,000 people have been categorised as political prisoners.

The situation has become so alarming that Pakistan's most intelligent bourgeois newspaper, *Dawn*, recently carried a front-page article, signed by its editor-in-chief, calling for the creation of a civil liberties union which "should be organised on a nonpartisan basis without any political aims or affiliations. . . . It should give legal assistance where necessary to the victims of repression, and it could launch a campaign to educate opinion—among the people as well as the ruling parties—on the basic principles of civilised governmental conduct. It should try to insure that political prisoners are treated with humanity and that they are not involved in false criminal (non-political) cases, in accordance with the tradition that has been handed down to us by the British raj. . . ."

While nice liberal talk like this is no doubt well meant, many observers cannot fail to recall that the country's most widely respected civil-lib-

erties lawyer is now the central government's minister of law and is engaged in drafting the new constitution, which promises to be even more repressive than previous rules and regulations by which the bourgeoisie governed Pakistan.

Also, most of the lawyers who could set up a civil liberties union are attached either to the PPP or the NAP. And it is precisely against these two supposed left parties that civil liberties have to be defended.

The arrests, of course, reflect the extent of the social crisis that has gripped Pakistan since the independence of Bangladesh. The only way out of the impasse requires revolutionary solutions of which neither the NAP nor the PPP are capable. As a result, they look for temporary remedies, such as a long-term alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile in Pakistan, rising prices and increased cost of living have created growing disillusionment with Bhutto and Wali Khan on the part of the workers and peasants. And in the absence of an organised socialist alternative, a drift to the extreme right is clearly visible. □

## Bangladesh

### Bengalis protest price rises, corruption

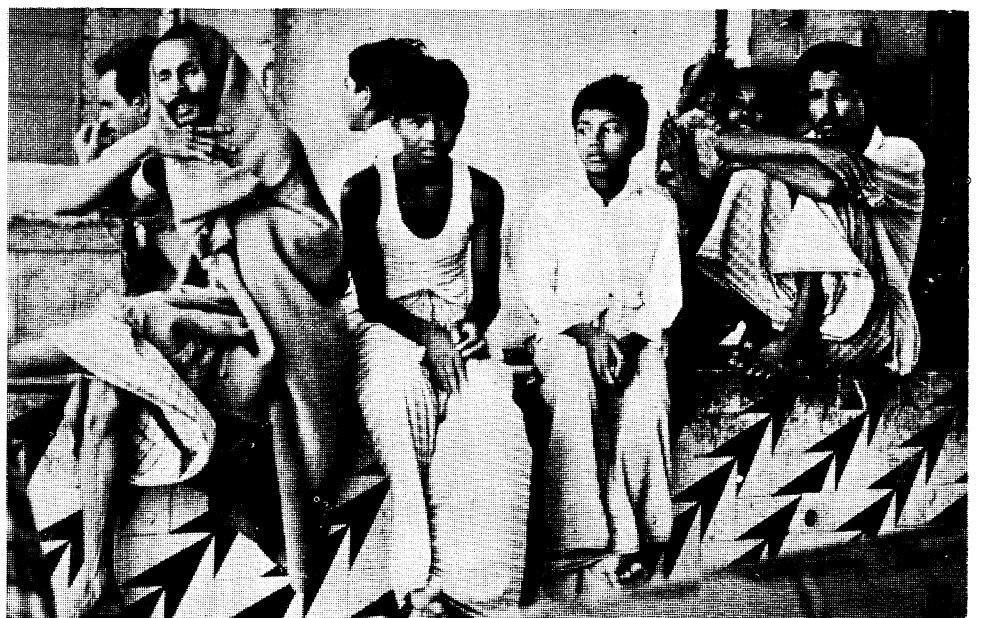
About 20,000 Bengalis, chanting, "We want food, we want clothing, we want a life that's worth living," staged a demonstration in Dacca September 3. It was the most serious expression thus far of opposition to the Awami League regime of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The demonstrators demanded measures to control skyrocketing food prices, a crackdown on government corruption, and establishment

of a coalition government.

Maulana Bhashani, head of the National Awami party, who led the demonstration, denounced Mujib and his ministers for "fostering opportunists, smugglers and others responsible for the unprecedented misery in Bangladesh today."

"Until recently," Lewis M. Simons of the *Washington Post* reported September 5, "Mujib was considered above reproach. . . . But now . . . the level of corruption has risen beyond that acceptable by local standards, and the sheikh, who is currently in Geneva recuperating from a gall bladder operation, is being tarred with the same brush as his government."

Because of soaring food prices, and a distributing system that is both inefficient and corrupt, hunger is widespread in Bangladesh. The price of seventy pounds of rice has doubled to \$14, the average monthly income of a Bengali peasant. The prices of cooking oil, kerosene, and cotton cloth have doubled or tripled. □



Unemployed workers in Dacca

Der Spiegel



## Political crisis brews in Chile; MIR presents alternative program

By Gerry Foley

"Two years ago, on September 4, 1970, the victory of the Socialist Salvador Allende in the presidential elections seemed to have marked a turning point in the history of Latin America," *Le Monde's* correspondent Pierre Kalfon wrote from Santiago in the September 5 issue of the Paris daily. "The ballot seemed to have won out over the bullet."

"Now this euphoria is completely forgotten."

Kalfon gave this gloomy assessment even taking all the Unidad Popular (UP—People's Unity) reforms at face value. He gave Allende credit for nationalizing copper and other natural resources, eliminating the latifundios, and asserting state control over a large proportion of the monopolies and banks. All of these achievements, he claimed, were now endangered by a mounting right-wing offensive.

The right-wing campaign coincides with a sudden dramatic increase in the prices of essential consumer goods. In a two-week period in August, according to the September 3 *New York Times*, the cost of cotton goods rose 90% and the price of cigarettes 110%. Chicken and sugar went up 100%, milk 90%, and beef disappeared from the markets. In attempting to impose price controls and fight speculative hoarding, the government came into a head-on clash with shopkeepers, who formed the spearhead of the rightist offensive.

### Polarization

In the sharpening polarization, the government is trying to maintain a balance between the left and the right.

At the very moment the minister of the interior Suárez was in Concepción in the south, paying his last respects to a policeman killed during an attack on antirightist demonstrators, the reactionaries were running amuck on the streets of the Chilean capital:

"Taking the pretext of a demonstration by high-school students that took place in the morning, young extreme rightists, reinforced by lumpenproletarian elements, took over the center of the city for several hours, blocking automobile traffic, beating up passers-by, stoning the windows of shops and apartment buildings, demanding that the residents 'bang their pots' as a sign of support," wrote Kalfon.

The exploited masses that brought the popular-front government to power demanded that Allende let them defend themselves against the ultra-right thugs.

"Let us make a little expedition to teach those rich boys a lesson," the building workers asked. "Give us arms to defend ourselves," the peasants demand." (They are being intimidated by gangsterlike raids by expropriated landlords).

But the government seems to be taking another course. "Two years after his election by a slim plurality, President Allende took the occasion of a strategy speech last night to renew his commitment to holding regular elections and abiding by the results," *New York Times* correspondent Joseph Novitski cabled from Santiago September 6. "He declared that a political solution was the only way out of the crisis and rejected the possibility of a civil war."

The "political solution" Allende seemed to mean was a UP victory in the March 1973 presidential elections.

To the supporters of his government, to the working people who are threatened by counterrevolutionary terror at the hands of rightist gangs and the police of the regime itself, who are being denied the basic necessities of life right now by the capitalist and imperialist masters of the economy, Allende offered no solution but again voting for the UP more than half a year in the precarious future. In face of the rightist offensive, even the parties of his own coalition—with a notable exception—are increasingly unwilling to accept such a passive posture.

As a result, Allende has come more and more to rely on the one reliably reformist force in the coalition, the Communist party. In June, the president reshuffled his cabinet, strengthening the position of the CP at the expense of his own Socialist party.

On the other hand, the regime's shift to the right has forced it to attack the revolutionary left. And it is on this front that the decisive battle seems to be developing that will determine the future of the popular-front government.

### Attacks on left

At present most of the reformists' fire seems to be centered on the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria), which has increased its influence in the past two years.

Like most of the revolutionary groups that have developed in Latin America under the impact of the Cuban revolution, the MIR was founded on the premise that guerrilla warfare was the only effective way of fighting for national liberation against increasingly repressive forms of rule by imperialism and the native capitalists. As a corollary, the group tended to de-emphasize the importance of specific political and economic demands, stressing broad anti-imperialist slogans.

In keeping with this approach the MIR favored voting for the popular-front ticket of Allende, while at the same time expressing a very pessimistic view about the possibilities of his being either elected or inaugurated. When Allende did win and was allowed to take office, the MIR was

confronted with a problem. Should it support the government or continue preparing for guerrilla war?

At first the MIR seemed to want to do both, and it provided Allende's bodyguard, among other things. Recently, however, the MIR has been raising sharp criticisms of the reformism of Allende and the CP and trying to offer an alternative line. Thus, a very acute confrontation has been developing.

This split came into the open dramatically on May 12, two days after the CP legislator Volodia Teitelboim gave a speech in the Senate blaming the "ultraleft" equally with the right for the increasing violence in the country. "There is an extreme right that traffics in arms and is aiming for a civil war. But there are also 'ultra' groups that call themselves 'left' who are following the same course, playing the role of partner in a mad waltz with their political opposites. They feed on each other. . . ." But the Communists "are against any form of violence that might unleash a fratricidal struggle in this country."

The May 23 issue of *Punto Final*, the biweekly of the MIR, described the clash that came two days after

Teitelboim declared war on the "ultra-left."

"Forty-eight hours after Senator Teitelboim's speech, the governor of Concepción, Vladimir Chávez, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party, authorized the Grupo Móvil [tactical force] of the Carabineros [riot police] to use force to break up a demonstration called by the workers and students of the city of Concepción. The action of the Grupo Móvil, whose dissolution was point No. 37 in the first forty points of the Unidad Popular program, cost the life of a seventeen-year-old student, Eladio Caamaño Sobarzo, and left about forty wounded, some of them seriously. Many persons were arrested, all of them activists of the left parties."

The demonstration attacked by the government was a counterdemonstration to a march by rightist and fascist organizations. The popular demonstration was supported by the Socialist Party, MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—United People's Action Movement], the PR, the Izquierda Cristiana [Christian Left] (all of which are in the UP), and the MIR.

This bloc immediately won support for the demonstration from the provincial council of CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Workers' Federation], the university and high-school student federations, the Consejo Provincial Campesino [Provincial Peasant Council], and the Comando Provincial de Pobladores [Provincial Command of the Homeless People], of the textile and coal miners' unions, as well as other groups.

The Communist party minister of the interior Daniel Vergara supported the action of his comrade Chávez in ordering the attack on the demonstration. The Political Committee of the Communist party issued a statement blaming the "ultraleft" for the violence.



400,000 Chileans marched in December 1971 in support of the Popular Unity demonstration to the mobilizations of the right wing.

The Political Committee of the Socialist party also opposed the united-left bloc in Concepción, expressing its disapproval of the attitude of the SP regional committee in the area.

### People's Assembly

Despite these pressures, the united-left front held together and decided to form a broader body, a People's Assembly (Asamblea del Pueblo), that could mobilize the masses of the region against the rightist offensive. The new body immediately came under heavy fire from the CP. But it was defended by a member of the Socialist party Central Committee, Guarani Pereda da Rosa, in an article in the August 4 issue of *Ultima Hora*, the Socialist weekly.

"On the day the body was organized, the Communist party publicly characterized the People's Assembly as a 'masquerade' dreamed up by the 'ultra-left,' which allegedly wanted to deny arbitrarily the presence of the people in the government."

Pereda da Rosa argued that the People's Assembly did not challenge the authority of the government but proposed "by organizing the masses to offer a solution to the most acute problems facing the working people every day, problems which the people's government is prevented from dealing with effectively by the existing state institutions." He denied that the body was an "artificial creation," pointing to the popular support it had won.

"Besides the support of the four UP parties already mentioned (the SP, PR, MAPU, and the IC) and of the MIR, the People's Assembly has the support of sixty unions, including the Sindicato Unico de la Compañía de Acero del Pacifico [United Organization of Pacific Steel Company workers], the four textile workers' unions,

various coal miners' unions, the brewery workers, various lumbermen's unions, public health workers, the coopers, and others. Five peasant organizations have joined, thirty-one camps of homeless people, sixteen student organizations, and twenty-seven mothers' cooperatives. In all there are five political organizations and 139 mass organizations representing workers, peasants, homeless people, and students.

"Of course, it cannot be denied that the People's Assembly organized in Concepción was not all that it could have been. One people's party, the Communist party, which represents a substantial sector of the working class in this area and in the country, which has unquestionable weight and responsibility in the revolutionary process Chile is experiencing, did not participate in this event. No Chilean revolutionist, no people's organization can accept this, or still less, be gratified by it. This is why the regional leadership of the SP and the other UP parties have repeatedly appealed to the Communists to come into the assembly."

Allende followed up the attacks of the CP, launching a violent denunciation of the People's Assembly in a statement issued July 31. He seemed to have borrowed his style of argument from his allies:

"For the second time in three months in the province of Concepción a divisionist phenomenon has developed, disrupting the unity of the Unidad Popular movement. I do not hesitate to characterize it as a deformed process that is aiding the enemies of the revolutionary cause. . . ."

The most consistent supporters of the People's Assembly seemed to be the MIR. They proposed not only to use the assembly as a means for mobilizing the masses to resist rightist intimidation and pressures; they also presented a concrete program around which the assembly could organize the people to smash the power of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and begin fighting immediately against the reactionary sabotage of the country's economic life.

### MIR program

The main points of the MIR program were:

"1. Expropriation of the big industrial, commercial, and financial bourgeoisie. Incorporation into the nationalized sector of all companies with a capital of more than 14,000,000 escudos [the official rate is 49 escudos per US\$1; the black-market rate is 200]. Unconditional defense of the confiscations, interventions, and nationalizations already carried out.

"2. Expropriation without compensation and in the shortest time possible of U.S. capital in industry, finance, and commerce.

"3. Expropriation without compensation, without leaving any 'reserves' or loopholes, of all the estates of the big agrarian bourgeoisie.

"4. The establishment of workers' control in big private industry, in medium and small industry, and on the estates of the middle bourgeoisie.

"5. Workers' control and management in state enterprises, in the public services, and in the rest of the economy.

"6. Support of all kinds, under the conditions of workers' control, to the small and middle bourgeoisie in the countryside, in the cities, and in commerce.

"7. Organizing the people in the local areas to form Local Workers'

Councils [Consejo Comunales de Trabajadores] in the countryside and in the cities.

"8. Preparing the conditions for dissolving the parliament and creating a People's Assembly in its place."

To organize the fight against capitalist economic pressures, the MIR raised the following immediate demands: Payment of a special bonus semiannually, or every time the cost of living rises by more than 5 percent, as a means of readjusting wages and salaries. Immediate payment of the retroactive cost-of-living increases. The adoption of measures that would make it possible to eliminate unemployment and underemployment in the countryside and in the cities."

The MIR program was published in late July. Facing the escalation of the rightist offensive and the catastrophic price increases of August, the National Secretariat of the MIR updated these demands. On August 28, it issued the following demands:

"(a) Immediate readjustment of wages and salaries by 100 percent to cover the increase in the cost of living, with preference given to the most poorly paid workers. Readjustment of wages every time the cost of living rises more than 5 percent. It is to be understood that this does not limit the legitimate struggle of the workers to win increasing shares of the profits from their bosses. Moreover, we call for establishing state outlets at which the basic necessities would be sold at subsidized prices, giving preference to the poorest strata who lack stable employment.

"(b) Workers' control in the companies of the private sector, on the basis of opening the books of businesses and banks. Workers' management in state enterprises.

"(c) Control by the people over supply and prices, including, if necessary, rationing of the basic necessities. This control should be applied by the unions, the JAP [Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios—Supply and Price Control Boards], neighborhood groups, and other mass organizations represented in the Local Workers' Councils.

"(d) The establishment of a consumer market basket of basic products whose prices would not be allowed to rise. Discriminatory price rises on those products consumed by the well-to-do strata. A price policy that would effectively transfer resources from the private to the nationalized sector.

"(e) Immediate expropriation of the big wholesalers and big retail traders.

"(f) Expropriation of the industrial big bourgeoisie. Only the people can produce for the people.

"(g) Expropriation of ranches of more than forty hectares without leaving any 'reserves' or loopholes, with the land being handed over immediately to the peasants, under the direction of the Local Peasant Councils [Consejos Comunales Campesinos].

"(h) Workers' control over the means of mass communication in order to stop the campaign of terrorizing the people by creating fears about scarcities.

"(i) Immediate suspension of payment on the foreign debt to the U.S. and the opening of bilateral negotiations with those countries ready to cooperate with Chile. We need our dollars to feed the people."

The MIR program ended with an appeal for worldwide support: "We call on all peoples and in particular the socialist countries to show international solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people." □

## Uruguay

# Tupamaro leader captured in shoot-out

Almost exactly one year since his spectacular tunnel escape from prison along with ninety-nine other guerrillas, Raúl Sendic, founder and principal leader of the Tupamaro guerrilla movement, was shot and captured September 1.

An official announcement said that Sendic and two other guerrillas were discovered in an old house in Montevideo's port area in a 1:00 a.m. raid by a combined force of policemen and soldiers. The capture represents an important victory for the police and army, which joined forces last April in a concerted effort to wipe out the guerrilla movement.

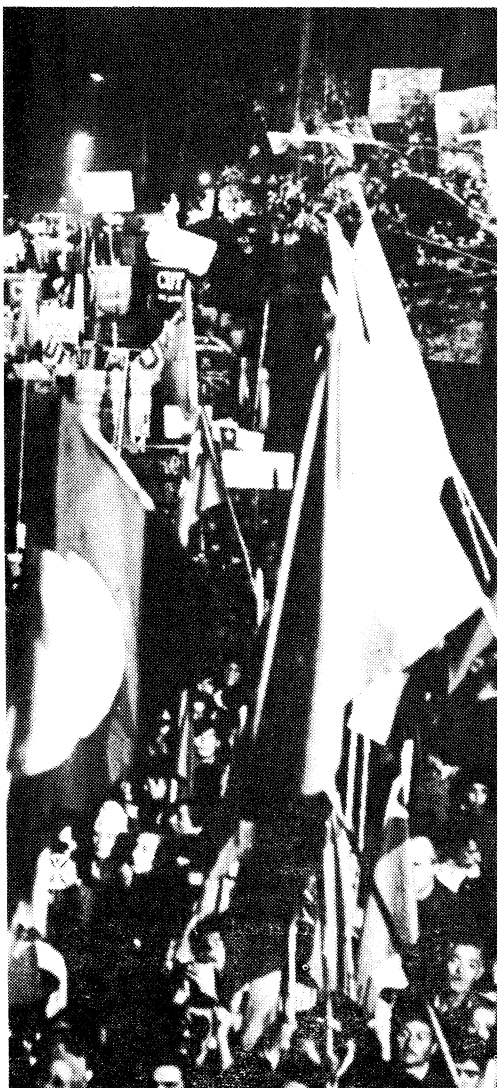
Sendic's condition was reported as critical in the military hospital where he was taken to undergo surgery for his wounds. "Police sources indicated that Sendic will not lose the ability to speak, although he will possibly be disfigured by the wounds he suffered in the face," according to an Associated Press dispatch in the September 4 New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*. A bullet reportedly entered the left side of his face, tearing out several teeth, wounding his tongue, and emerging on the right side.

This is the second time Sendic has been captured since the formation of the Tupamaros in 1963. The first was on August 7, 1970. On September 6, 1971, he was among 100 Tupamaros who escaped from the maximum security Punta Carretas Prison by digging a tunnel from the prison to a nearby house. He had managed to elude the police since then.

One of the other guerrillas captured in the latest raid, Xenia Itte González, had escaped from the women's prison in July 1971 along with thirty-seven other Tupamaras.

Since mid-April, when a state of emergency was declared and a virtual war launched against the Tupamaros, more than 1,000 guerrillas have been captured and twenty have been reported killed. Hundreds of weapons, caches of supplies, and hideouts have been discovered. "Torture is systematically used on those who are being held in prison," noted *Le Monde*.

Uruguayan authorities claim to have either captured or killed nearly all of the leaders of the Tupamaros since the brutal repression began April 14. According to the Associated Press, only five are still at large. They were listed as Raúl Bidegain Gressing, Luis Efraín Martínez Platero, Heber Mejías Collazo, Fernando Garín Lanieri, and Heraclio Jesús Rodríguez Recalde. □



ind as a counter-

# Brodsky forced to leave Soviet Union

By Ernest Harsch

"We Negroes, we poets,  
in whom the planets splash,  
lie like sacks full of legends and  
stars. . .

"Trample upon us  
and you kick the firmament,  
The whole universe howls  
beneath your boot!"  
— Andrei Voznesensky

On June 4 Yosif Brodsky, thirty-two, a Soviet poet well known in the West, left the Soviet Union under pressure from the secret police (KGB). The same day, he sent a letter to Leonid Brezhnev requesting his right to return and continue writing in the Soviet Union.

The exact course of events leading up to Brodsky's forced exile are not yet known, but should be so shortly, since he will move to the U.S. as a writer in residence at the University of Michigan this year. His friends simply say that he was told to leave the country and that he had no hopes of getting permission to return.

Yosif Brodsky first received international notoriety in 1964 when a transcript of his trial was published in the West thanks to Frida Yigdorova, a member of the Leningrad Writers' Union. A slander campaign began against him in November 1963 in an article in the *Evening Leningrad* entitled "A semiliterary parasite," which charged him with corrupting the youth and writing anti-Soviet poetry. Actually, most of his poetry is apolitical, although he does make a

few veiled criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In February 1964 he was brought to trial in Leningrad on the charge of "vagrancy and parasitism." The judge was openly hostile, as indicated in the trial transcript:

*Judge:* Prisoner Brodsky, what is your profession?  
*Brodsky:* I am a poet. I suppose . . .  
*Judge:* We don't want any 'I suppose' in this court. Stand up straight and stop leaning against the wall. In future you will face the court and answer the questions properly. Do you have any permanent employment?  
*Brodsky:* I thought that was permanent employment.  
*Judge:* Answer the question properly.  
*Brodsky:* I write poems. I thought they were going to be published. I suppose . . .  
*Judge:* We're not interested in what you suppose. Tell us why you refused to work.  
*Brodsky:* I did work. I wrote poems.  
*Judge:* Who recognized you as a poet? Who gave you the authority to call yourself a poet?  
*Brodsky:* No one. Who gave me the authority to enter the human race?

A number of experts testified in his behalf that Brodsky worked as a poet and translator and, indeed, was

a very good one. The prosecution then marched a number of its witnesses before the stand. They repeated the charges that Brodsky was a "parasite" and a "corrupting influence" on young people. The verdict was no surprise.

Sent to a state farm near Archangel, he worked as a carrier of manure, his physical and mental health rapidly deteriorating owing to the cold and the severe conditions. Fortunately, in October 1965, he was pardoned and released under pressure from his fellow writers and intellectuals. Arriving in Moscow, he was greeted by Yevgeny Yevtushenko and other young literary figures of the capital.

Although he continued to write his "decadent" and "corrupting" poetry, none of his work has yet been published in the Soviet Union, except as *samizdat*. The recent blow against him by the Soviet bureaucrats indicates that they still consider him dangerous. It also indicates an ominous turn by those who would like to see art and literature serve nothing but the interests of the bureaucracy. □

## Iran

# Shah's regime condemns student; faces bus strike

By Javad Sadeeg

On August 27 the shah's regime brought a nineteen-year-old university student to trial before a military tribunal in Teheran which condemned him to death the next day. Mehdi Rezai was convicted by the impatient

generals on charges of committing murder, attempting to subvert the state, and membership in an armed revolutionary organization.

"My comrades and I have accepted living dangerously because we could not passively participate in maintaining crying social injustices in Iran," Rezai told the court, according to the August 30 *Le Monde*.

The shah's press reported that Mehdi Rezai was captured on May 6 after a shoot-out with the police during which his comrade, Habib Rahbari, and a policeman were killed. The police claim that Rezai and Rahbari started shooting when the police stopped them in a Teheran street.

Rezai told the court that he did not intentionally kill the policeman. His pistol went off accidentally when he was tripped by the cops.

In the last few months the Teheran press has reported the bombing of government buildings, street shoot-outs with the police—which the police claim occur when they trap the rev-

olutionists and seek to arrest them—and the cold-blooded murder of revolutionists by the police under guise of self-defense.

On August 13 a high police official was assassinated in Teheran. This was but the latest of many similar assassinations in the last two years, according to the chief of the national police.

On August 27 a different type of action occurred in Teheran. For the first time in many years the bus drivers and their assistants went on a general strike. The action was initiated by some drivers who brought their buses to a halt. It was opposed by the so-called representatives of the workers, and apparently it started without their knowledge. The strike was immediately declared illegal by the government. The bus system is reported to transport a total of 1,200,000 persons a day. This is the city's sole means of public transport.

The government does not dare raise bus fares. When they were raised in

February 1970 students initiated a massive bus boycott that lasted for three days. The shah backed down and rescinded the fare increase.

The government blamed the bus strike on a handful of miscreants who "misled" the workers. Twenty persons were arrested. The workers were ordered to go back to work or face losing their jobs. Early in the morning of August 28, 400 army men and 400 government employees were being used to drive the buses, according to *Ettelaat*.

The Teheran daily *Kayhan* said that the regime was planning to mobilize 5,000 military and government employees to drive the buses.

The shah's military can engage in shoot-outs with small forces and can certainly decree death sentences to be carried out by firing squads. But obviously they cannot easily provide transportation for Teheran's working people, or imprison all the bus drivers even if they go on an illegal strike.

## Argentina

# Guards opened fire, say surviving Trelew victims

Since the massacre at the Trelew air base in Patagonia on August 22, when a marine guard unit opened fire on a group of nineteen captured guerrillas, killing thirteen outright and badly wounding six others, three of whom died a few days later, Argentine journalists have been asking more and more questions about the government's story that the prisoners were killed "trying to escape."

Different versions of the slaughter were put out by the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff and the marine officer who commanded the guard at the air base, the latter assigning himself a heroic role in the events.

The government did not report the testimony of the three survivors. It was feared that the Lanusse regime would quietly do away with them, saying that they had died from their wounds. The popular clamor was

such, however, that the government drew back.

The three survivors have now revealed the truth about the massacre to civil-liberties attorneys, who were described somewhat ambiguously in a September 10 London *Times* dispatch as "lawyers, all of whom defend political prisoners."

The account summarized a statement by the lawyers:

"Six Argentine lawyers have charged that naval guards opened fire 'suddenly and without the slightest incident' on imprisoned left-wing guerrillas who had been paraded at 3:30 a.m. on Aug. 22 at a Patagonian naval base.

"When the prisoners attempted to escape the fire by retreating into their cells, naval officers pursued them, firing their pistols, the lawyers said. They dismissed the official version of the incident . . . as 'completely false.'"

In our September 11 issue, *Intercontinental Press* will carry the full text of the oppositionist leaflet, let which was recently circulated in Moscow.

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# The Lavelle case: Who's kidding who?

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 20—Did "unauthorized" U.S. air raids on North Vietnam "sabotage" negotiations between Washington and Hanoi last winter? That's the main question in the Lavelle case.

According to General John Lavelle's original version, between November 1971 and March 1972 he ordered on his own about 20 bombing strikes against North Vietnam that went beyond the bounds prescribed by the Pentagon concept of "protective reaction."

In this same period, it was later revealed, secret talks were taking place between White House strategist Henry Kissinger and top Hanoi official Le Duc Tho. These collapsed after the supposedly unauthorized attacks began.

Military actions apparently cut across diplomatic objectives. "At stake . . . is the relationship between civil authority and the military," the *New York Times* declared in an editorial Sept. 17.

Now Lavelle has testified in secret before the Senate Armed Services Committee. He has claimed that General Creighton Abrams, prospective Army chief of staff, and Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, knew what he was up to. Abrams has testified that this is not true.

And a sergeant has testified that more than 200 pilots and senior officers spent six weeks in an Air Force unit in Thailand faking classified reports to cover up the strikes. General Lavelle's former top aide, Major General Alton D. Slay, testified from a hospital in Denver (shades of Dita Beard and ITT!) that he had authorized these falsifications under Lavelle's orders.

What are we to make of this? The most important of the "unauthorized" strikes took place first. Seymour Hersh, the *Times* correspondent who first exploded the Lavelle affair, wrote in a Sept. 18 analysis: "The attacks, on three North Vietnamese airfields on Nov. 7 and 8, 1971, were ordered by General Lavelle, who testified that he had discussed the raids and received approval for them with both General Abrams and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer . . . Moorer was in Saigon on an inspection trip at the time."

These are the most significant raids because they preceded the collapse of the Kissinger-Tho talks. On Nov. 17, Hanoi informed Washington that Le Duc Tho was ill, but a lesser official, Xuan Thuy, could meet with Kissinger. On Nov. 19, Washington responded that "no point would be served by a meeting." (*Congressional Record*, June 14, 1972, p. S 9312.)

Hersh continues the *Times* analysis, "The over-all goal of the operation, General Lavelle testified, was to destroy runways and parked MIG's. One specific objective was the destruction of a MIG that had been photographed on the ground at Donghoi airfield. . . .

"Under the rules at the time, the North Vietnamese airplane had to take off and exhibit intentions 'hostile' to pilots before it could be engaged in combat. . . .

"Both General Abrams and Admiral Moorer have denied knowing that the raids were to be anything more than officially sanctioned 'protective reaction' strikes—that is, a United States response to North Vietnamese threats to American planes."

So the whole question seems to be whether U.S. bombers were supposed to strike the airfield before or after the MIGs took off, and this is supposed to be the point upon which the very relations between the military and the bourgeois state are teetering.

But that wasn't really the main question. How do I know? I read it in the *New York Times*. Here is the *Times* account of the raids that appeared in its Nov. 14, 1971, issue—that is, before the negotiations fell through:

"[U.S.] planes have also stepped up strikes against anti-aircraft sites in North Vietnam with five 'protective reaction' attacks this week alone. The command said that the strikes were in retaliation for 'hostile acts' by the anti-aircraft."

"Behind some of the strikes, however, is the growing concern among

military officers that Hanoi might soon be sending MIG fighters against American planes over Laos. Three attacks this week were against southern provinces of North Vietnam—Donghoi, Vinh and Quanglang."

"Informed sources said the strikes were intended as a warning to Hanoi that the United States would not hesitate to bomb the airports and MIG's on the ground if they became more active."

I underlined the last paragraph because it's the key one. The message from "informed sources" (meaning either the Pentagon or the White House) was that the United States would bomb MIGs on the ground and without hesitation.

Under these circumstances, whatever Lavelle actually did was completely academic to the negotiations in Hanoi. The message to Hanoi was contained in a prominent article in the *New York Times*.

Now for the sake of argument let's suppose that the "informed sources" were in the Pentagon, not the White House. At the same moment the Pentagon is espousing one line, Nixon was engaged in critical secret diplomacy with Hanoi. If the *Times* message was inaccurate, that is, if the White House did not favor taking a tough stand on bombing the MIGs, it would most likely have demanded a retraction from the *Times*. No such retraction occurred.

You didn't need the CIA or Army Intelligence to find out what Lavelle was up to, nor even Henry Kissinger.

It was in the morning paper. In fact the *Times* had emphatically stressed the same message three days earlier in an editorial, just after the supposedly unauthorized strikes.

This editorial in the Nov. 11 *Times* was entitled "Last Chance for Peace." It stated, "It is in Hanoi's interest to terminate the American involvement before November 1972. American air operations continue at a high level, despite ground force reductions. There have been more than seventy raids against North Vietnam this year."

Nixon's message to Hanoi in 1971 was no different from today: Either bend to terms acceptable to the United States or we will bomb you indefinitely. This is the message that Lavelle got from Abrams and Moorer. And it was Nixon's policy of stepping up the air war that Hanoi responded to.

*New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker perhaps hit the most important lesson of the Lavelle business in his Sept. 19 column: "Whatever the facts finally show, the Lavelle affair raises in the sharpest way the question why either the civilian or the military spokesmen of this Administration should be accepted at face value when they say that American planes are not bombing the Red River dike system in North Vietnam. . . .

"Even more clearly, the Lavelle affair suggests that Hanoi has even less reason than the American people to trust official American statements. They knew right along that those 'protective reaction' raids were no such thing. . . ."



## Phila. teachers, parents picket city hall

By CARL FRANK

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 19 — Most of the school strikes across the nation have been settled with teachers seriously compromising their original demands. But in Philadelphia, the Federation of Teachers (PFT) and the school board remain deadlocked on the issues of working conditions and salaries.

In its third week, with no apparent progress in negotiations, this strike is already the longest labor dispute involving municipal employees in the city's history. The deadlock hinges on working conditions. The school board seeks to lengthen the working day for high school teachers and to increase class size. It also wants to eliminate at least 500 teaching positions and several hundred paraprofessional personnel.

Although the union, at the request of student and community leaders,

agreed to return to work for six weeks under the terms of the old contract, the school board refused. An uncertain long-term financial situation and an immediate shortage of cash are motivating factors for the school district's intransigence.

Because the district collects its taxes and most subsidies in the spring, the schools have to borrow to pay their bills through the fall and winter. "If the strike were settled now, we'd be in a lot of trouble," said Board President Ross. With the schools closed, the entire system has managed to avoid insolvency.

For Philadelphia school children, however, 1972 might well be the endless summer. As a result of the standstill, tempers are beginning to fray and many parents, Black community organizations, and students are mounting pressure on the board. Significant demonstrations have occurred

during the past week.

Five hundred chanting protesters, mainly teachers, marched outside a board of education meeting earlier this week. Another 500, primarily from the Black community, attended a city council meeting later in the week.

The demonstrators jammed the chambers in city hall and loudly demanded an end to the school strike. Tempers at the session ran so high that the council closed the regular meeting and moved to an adjacent room to discuss the situation in private.

Although the Black community has no special sympathy for the union itself, concern and anger is focusing more and more directly on the city administration and Mayor Frank Rizzo in particular.

Indeed, history has returned to haunt the teachers union, which sup-

ported Mayor Rizzo in the last election. Rizzo believes that police are more important than teachers and has recently proposed that schools be placed in the same physical plants as police stations.

Community and parent picket lines are a daily occurrence outside city hall. Regular political confrontations with protesters and city administrators also occur inside the city hall corridors.

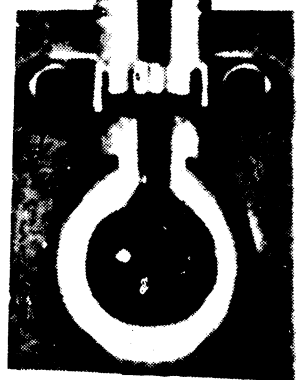
At the stormy city council meeting, Councilman Isadore Bellis was roundly booed when he took the floor to say, "The schools are closed because the teachers are on strike and not because of any negligence on the part of the city council."

Other council members were more warmly received. Charles Durham argued, "If we can find money to send people to the moon, it should be easy to find money to teach our children."

\$40,000

22,265

11,133



## Jenness-Pulley Campaign Matching Fund

## Matching Fund gains momentum

A total of \$707.50 was received during the last week in contributions to the Socialist Workers Campaign Matching Fund. Campaign supporters in Denver donated \$200, and many small contributions came in to the national campaign office as the early response to a mailing requesting donations for the Matching Fund.

However, the total amount of the contributions received last week was still below the average of more than \$1,000 a week needed to successfully complete the drive by Nov. 7. All contributions to the campaign up to a total of \$20,000 will be matched by several campaign supporters.

While the Jenness-Pulley campaign is not trying to compete with the capitalist parties in the area of fund raising, tens of thousands of dollars are still needed for our activities.

( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the \$40,000 Matching Fund.

( ) I can contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ in three monthly installments (Sept., Oct., and Nov.)

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Address\_\_\_\_\_

City\_\_\_\_\_

State\_\_\_\_\_ Zip\_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

# Socialists fight D.C. election board for right to be on ballot

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 15 — The Socialist Workers Party announced here today that it would fight in the courts against any attempts to keep its presidential ticket off the Washington, D. C., ballot. SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley said the SWP is considering legal action to keep the D. C. board of elections from turning petitions over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

At hearings held yesterday and today on the petitions submitted by the party for the 1972 ballot, the SWP charged that the FBI copied petitions nominating SWP candidates in 1971.

On June 27 the SWP filed 26,507 signatures nominating its presidential slate. This was more than twice the requirement. The board of elections notified the SWP Aug. 31 that a random survey of 400 signatures indicated there were not enough registered voters on the petitions. The board also notified the SWP that 25 signatures considered "questionable" had been turned over to the D. C. police.

At the hearings the SWP objected strenuously to the tactics of the board. Represented by attorneys Michael Smith and Jerry Gordon, the SWP argued that a party could not be ruled off a ballot on the basis of a random survey, and that turning signatures over to the police had a "chilling effect" on free speech.

The board presented a number of witnesses, including a statistician who developed the sampling method used, and a police handwriting expert, who testified that a majority of the signatures on petitions he examined were forged.

In presenting the case of the SWP, attorneys Gordon and Smith introduced Andrew Pulley. The vice-presidential candidate said the SWP was meeting ballot status requirements in 30 states, and that in no instance had the party been ruled off a ballot on the basis of insufficient signatures. Pulley gave the board copies of let-

ters from D. C. citizens protesting the board's action in attempting to rule the SWP off the ballot. The signers included Charles Cassell, D. C. school board member; Dr. Barbara Roberts, national coordinator, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; Abe Bloom, chairman, Washington Area Peace Action Coalition; Betty Nyagani, Howard University professor; and others.

Judy Baumann, national secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), testified that many of the signatures invalidated by the board should have been counted. She demonstrated that the signatures of some registered voters were arbitrarily disqualified. She also presented evidence proving that the "forgery" charge was false and was a fishing expedition on the part of the board.

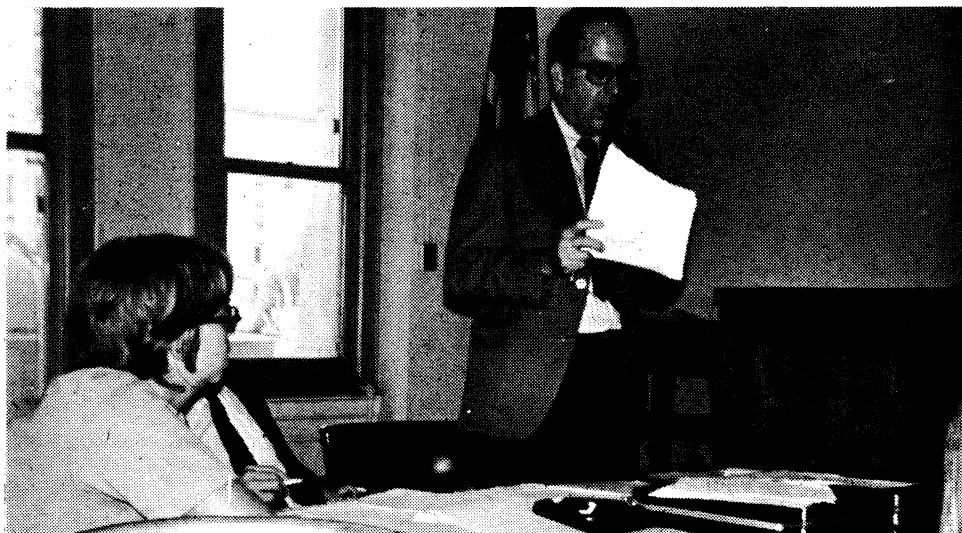
Chuck Petrin, coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in Washington, D. C., testified that he had been told by board of elections employees that the FBI had asked to copy the 1971 SWP petitions. His testimony was corroborated by an employee who shook her head "yes" when

asked if the FBI had ever come to the board for the petitions. Her answer was not allowed as evidence by the board, which ruled repeatedly that no mention of the FBI had any relevance to the issues of the hearing.

In his summary, the board's counsel argued again that the SWP should be kept off the ballot. In presenting evidence that the courts had often approved random samples, he cited a long passage from a decision involving a shoe company's money matters.

"We are not talking about shoes here," countered Jerry Gordon in his rebuttal, "but about First Amendment rights. If we are to allow a party to be kept off the ballot on the basis of a random survey, where will it end? Will you then suggest that the ballots be counted by a random sample as well?"

A decision is expected within a week. If the SWP is ruled off the ballot, the decision will be appealed to the Superior Court. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws has pledged its continued efforts to seek support for the SWP's ballot rights and to assist in any legal challenges.



Attorney Jerry Gordon arguing for SWP at hearings held on socialists' nominating petitions for D.C. ballot. At left is CoDEL national secretary Judy Baumann.

# Ohio SWP candidate debates supporters of CP, Dems, GOP

By JOE KEAR

CLEVELAND — Representatives of the Democratic, Republican, Socialist Workers, and Communist presidential campaigns confronted each other Sept. 4 at a debate before 200 people here at Case Western Reserve University (CWRU).

"It is unfortunate that this debate couldn't take place among the candidates themselves, but at this time both Nixon and McGovern are supporting legislation to remove minority party candidates from protection under the federal equal-time provisions," noted Robbie Scherr in her opening remarks.

Scherr, who represented the SWP campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley at the debate, is the Socialist Workers candidate for U. S. Congress from Ohio's 23rd C.D. She is also a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mark Freedman, head of the Cuyahoga County Young Voters for the President, countered criticism of the Republican Party ITT (International Telephone and Telegraph) scandal by citing "the \$1.22-million in phone privileges ITT contributed to the Democratic convention in Miami."

Freedman attacked McGovern for being inconsistent, saying that the Democratic candidate "has unveiled

five different economic plans in the course of his campaign . . . at least with President Nixon you know what you are getting."

The coordinator of CWRU Students for McGovern, Guy Laughlin, complained in his presentation that the news media portray McGovern as more radical than he really is: "McGovern is the conservative, not Nixon . . . [McGovern] is calling for a return to traditional values."

Laughlin said that McGovern's proposed troop reductions are equivalent to levels President Eisenhower recommended, and that McGovern's economic proposals would only close tax loopholes that "do not serve a useful purpose."

Calling it "practical politics," Laughlin defended the Democratic nominee's maneuvers to defeat the abortion and gay rights planks at the Democratic convention.

"McGovern takes progressive stands on the war and taxes, but monopoly control is pressuring him from the right," stated Carl Adelman, spokesman for the Communist Party campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

Adelman said, "We should fight for [McGovern] to support the 1948 United Nations resolution on the Middle East . . . and other issues." He concluded: "If McGovern's positions

don't satisfy you on the Mideast, Vietnam, and labor . . . vote Communist."

Scherr scored both Nixon and McGovern, explaining that they "refuse to stand on their records, but ask for one more chance for the Republican and Democratic parties."

Scherr attacked the idea that McGovern is a "lesser evil" in the 1972 elections: "Over the past decade every president has been elected as a peace candidate. . . we should learn a lesson from the Johnson-Goldwater campaign . . . there is no guarantee on McGovern."

Reminding the audience of McGovern's position that abortion laws should be left up to each state, Scherr asked whether the Democratic nominee would have taken the same stand on slavery laws more than a century ago.

Both Scherr and Laughlin pledged to continue their work in the CWRU Student Mobilization Committee in support of the Oct. 26 and Nov. 18 demonstrations against the war in Southeast Asia.

Following the debate, 12 people attended a "Join the YSA" meeting.

Cleveland radio station WERE announced plans to broadcast a tape of the debate on Sept. 18.

# SWP pushes drive to gain ballot status

## Minnesota

By DAVID WELTERS

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 16—At a protest rally here today, Socialist Workers senatorial candidate Mary Hillery charged Secretary of State Arlen Erdahl with denying Minnesotans the "right to choose their representatives from a full slate of candidates."

Erdahl is attempting to bar Hillery, 25, from the ballot on the basis of a state law prohibiting candidates under 30 from running for U. S. Senate. Hillery has taken her case to the Minnesota Supreme Court, where her attorneys presented initial arguments Sept. 14 to Supreme Court Justice James Otis.

"By enforcing the age requirement," Hillery told the rally, "the secretary of state is denying me the basic right to campaign, publicize my views in the media, and collect the votes of those who support me."

Striking down Minnesota's age restriction, she stated, would be "a victory for all young people who wish to run for office." The effect of this restriction is that the 225,000 young Minnesotans who are now eligible to vote "are denied the right to vote for their peers," Hillery continued.

A decision by Justice Otis is expected within two weeks. The secretary of state has already certified Bill Peterson, the SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from the 5th C. D., and the SWP presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is supporting Hillery's fight for ballot status.

## Idaho

By NORTON SANDLER

BOISE, Idaho, Sept. 18—Idaho Secretary of State Pete Cenarrusa has retreated from his threat to keep the Socialist Workers Party off the November ballot. In a letter to the SWP dated Sept. 14, Cenarrusa said: "I wish to inform you that the Socialist Workers Party enjoys ballot status in the state of Idaho."

Cenarrusa had earlier attacked the SWP, charging that it failed to participate fully in the state primary. He alleged that Idaho taxpayers were forced to foot the bill for a ballot bearing only the name of the SWP, that the SWP had presented no candidates to the voters, and that no votes for the SWP had been counted.

Nina Knapp, SWP candidate for state senate from Idaho's 18th Legislative District, blasted Cenarrusa's charges. She explained to the news media that a new party is not required to field candidates in a primary and that the SWP presidential ticket had been nominated at a convention held in Idaho in June.

However, Knapp herself was an SWP candidate in the primary. She reported that she had cast a vote for herself, and that in her opinion, the failure to record any votes for the SWP in the primary was proof that the board of elections, not the SWP, was disinterested in the elections.

Knapp also explained that in every month since the SWP was certified for ballot status, a national representative of the SWP has been in Idaho, including vice-presidential candidate An-

drew Pulley. Knapp contended that the SWP has shown more interest in Idaho voters than any candidate of the Democratic or Republican parties.

## Ohio

By JUDY UHL

SEPT. 18—Absentee ballots mailed to Ohio voters last week contained the names of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president. Jenness and Pulley have filed suit in federal district court to overturn Ohio Secretary of State Ted Brown's decision to bar them from the ballot because they are "underage."

Brown's office has indicated that any votes cast for the SWP candidates will not be counted if the court upholds the secretary of state's ruling.

Two county boards have already printed November ballots listing Jenness and Pulley. The Hamilton County board (Cincinnati) said it would cross the names off or lock that column of the voting machines if the court rules against Jenness and Pulley.

The Montgomery County board (Dayton) said it would probably allow people to vote for the SWP candidates but the votes would not be counted if the court rules Jenness and Pulley off the ballot.

The secretary of state's office said it may print a special sticker to be placed over the names of Jenness and Pulley if the court decision bars them from the ballot.

In the meantime, the federal district court judge has not yet handed down a decision. His delaying action will

make it very difficult to appeal an unfavorable verdict. The SWP is considering legal action to force the judge to make a ruling.

## National

Arizona	filing Sept. 22
Colorado	certified
Delaware	litigation
Washington, D. C.	filed; litigation likely
Florida	filed; not yet certified
Idaho	certified
Illinois	litigation
Indiana	certified
Iowa	certified
Kentucky	certified
Louisiana	filed; litigation likely
Massachusetts	certified
Michigan	certified
Minnesota	certified
Mississippi	filed; not yet certified
New Hampshire	not yet filed
New Jersey	certified
New Mexico	filed; not yet certified
New York	filed; not yet certified
North Dakota	certified
Ohio	litigation
Pennsylvania	certified
Rhode Island	certified
South Dakota	certified
Tennessee	litigation
Texas	certified
Utah	litigation
Vermont	certified
Washington	filing Sept. 19
Wisconsin	certified

## '72 Socialist Campaign

### Unfair campaign pledge

In the mail last week there was a letter from Samuel Archibald, executive director of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc. Mr. Archibald was soliciting our signature on the "Code of Fair Campaign Practices."

"Signing the Code is not only good politics," Mr. Archibald writes, "it has sound educational value." He thinks we could get favorable notice in local news outlets by announcing our rejection of unfair practices.

**Larry Seigle is the national campaign manager of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign.**

In addition, as if we weren't already sufficiently motivated, Mr. Archibald promises to send us a sheet with copies of the Fair Campaign Symbol, a hand upraised in the oath-taking position with the words "Fair Campaign Pledge." The symbol is for use in newspaper and TV ads.

We were pleased to see the names of Eisenhower, Truman, and LBJ as honorary members of this sterling organization. If anybody ever needed to take the pledge, they did.

But before we put our name to such weighty documents, we are in the habit of looking around to make sure we aren't sticking our necks out. After all, if there's one thing we've learned in the course of this campaign, it's that politics can be a dirty business. It's a triumph-or-be-conquered game, and somebody's always out to trip up the naive or unsuspecting.

"Why aren't Nixon and McGovern listed as signatories?" we wondered.

So we took another, more careful look at the seven-point code.

Point One commits the signers to

present "my record and policies with sincerity and frankness." We thought Tricky Dick and George would both have trouble with that one. Two "peace candidates"—one has waged war for the past four years, and the other has voted him the funds with which to do it. But, after all, in America "sincerity" is a relative thing. Nobody's "pure."

Point Two affirms the "right of every qualified American voter to full and equal participation in the electoral process." But what about the right of socialists to participate? How can we participate if we can't get on the ballot?

And what about young people who want to run for office, like Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley? But maybe Nixon and McGovern think that "qualified Americans" means those people who want to vote for Nixon or McGovern and would be able to sign the Code on that basis. Still, the Code began to look a little fishy.

Point Three renounces "personal vilification and character defamation." We had to think about this one. Nixon and McGovern look good on this point. After all, the nasty things they say about each other are generally true. And when Nixon accuses McGovern of being a "radical," that's not a slander of McGovern, it's a vilification of radicals.

Within the bounds of honesty, we could continue to label both capitalist candidates as liars, racists, and imperialist politicians. No impartial judge could ever fault us for that.

Point Four pledges us to forgo the "use of campaign material . . . which misrepresents, distorts, or otherwise falsifies the facts regarding any candidate." Nixon and McGovern both get stuck here.

If they signed the oath, they would

have to say, "We are the candidates of the capitalist class, which rules America. Our differences of opinion represent differing views on how best to maintain that class in power, and while it is in power, to secure to it the greatest possible accumulation of wealth at the expense of the class that is not in power. Our bipartisan foreign policy is designed to maintain the rule of our class in other countries and to restore it to power where it has been removed."

Since no such statement has been issued, we figure that they haven't yet signed the oath. The whole thing began to look more and more like a trap.

The next point was the clincher. It says that the signer "shall condemn any appeal to prejudice based on race, creed, or national origin." Nixon and McGovern—with their jingoistic appeals of support to Israel's aggression, their kowtowing to the Alabama segregationist George Wallace, their chauvinism about keeping America "the most powerful country in the world," and their support to Washington's right to send troops anywhere in the world—could hardly commit themselves to this high-sounding pledge.

Where would the Democrats and Republicans be if they couldn't rely on racism, anticommunism, and American chauvinism to stay in power?

No. The Code of Fair Campaign Practices is a fraud. It's another one of those little tricks used to make Americans believe that elections are fair and democratic. Like the election laws, which purport to guarantee an open ballot, but whose real intent and effect is to restrict the ballot to capitalist candidates. Or the "equal time" law, which doesn't guarantee equal

access to radio or TV—in fact it doesn't guarantee that opponents of the Democrats and Republicans will get *any* time at all on the air.

Mr. Archibald, your letter was sent to the wrong address. You should send a copy to Richard Nixon, in care of John or Martha Mitchell, Maurice Stans, or Bernard L. Barker.

Also, send one to McGovern, with copies to his friends Richard Daley in Chicago and to his mentor LBJ at the ranch. Oh yes, and please send one to Ted W. Brown in Columbus, Ohio.



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

**SWP campaign supporters in New York City picketed NBC on Sept. 12 to protest the network's denial of equal time to Linda Jenness. NBC claimed Jenness was 'too young' to run for president.**



# 1,000 at Michigan rally support referendum for right to abortion

ANN ARBOR, Mich., Sept. 18 — Nearly 1,000 women and men attended a spirited kickoff rally here last night for the campaign to pass Proposal B, the Michigan abortion referendum. Zero Population Growth sponsored the event.

Proposal B says that a licensed doctor may perform an abortion on a woman up to the twentieth week of pregnancy in an approved hospital or clinic. The proposal will appear on the Nov. 7 Michigan ballot.

Those who came to the rally stayed until 2 a.m., in spite of a bomb threat that delayed the opening of the program. The rally featured actress Candice Bergen; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; and Black feminist Margaret Sloan.

Candice Bergen hit a responsive chord in the audience when she said, "The idea that men can sit and legislate what women may do with their bodies is to me inconceivable!"

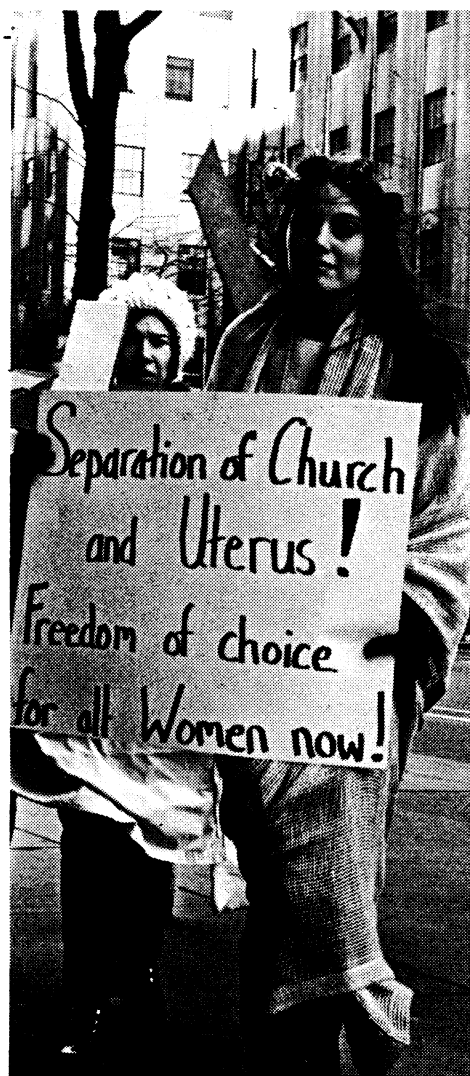
Gloria Steinem emphasized that passage of the Michigan referendum is only the first step. She pointed out that abortion should be freely available to all women, and that restrictive contraception laws should be repealed. Laws that prevent voluntary sterilization and laws that force sterilization against a person's will must be removed from the books, she said.

The program also included performances of Myrna Lamb's *But What Have You Done for Me Lately?* and *Woman Play*, an original feminist play by the Street Corner Society.

Until Aug. 24, Michigan's abortion law prohibited all abortions except those performed to save a woman's life. The Michigan State Court of Appeals ruled Aug. 24 that abortions are legal up through the third month of pregnancy, but the exact status of the abortion law remains unclear in practice. If the referendum were to pass, it would become the state law.

Between August 1971 and March 1972, 3,000 people collected more

than 300,000 signatures of registered voters on petitions. The state requires 212,000 valid signatures to place a referendum on the ballot.



Militant/Debby Woodroffe

Anti-abortion groups challenged the referendum petitions in an attempt to prevent the measure from appearing on the ballot. However, state officials found more than 250,000 signatures valid. On Sept. 8 the Michigan Supreme Court ruled that the referendum must be placed on the ballot.

A recent *Detroit Free Press* poll indicated that 64 percent of those responding were in favor of abortion law repeal. This is roughly the same figure obtained by the Gallup poll in a national sample in August.

A Sept. 14 poll of 800 Detroit area residents published in the *Detroit News* showed growing support for Proposal B: 57 percent of those polled favored abortion law reform; 37 percent opposed reform; and 6 percent were undecided. Forty-four percent of the Catholics polled, and 45 percent of the Blacks, supported the referendum.

Among young people pro-abortion sentiment was highest. The *Detroit News* poll showed 76 percent of the 18 to 20-year-olds and 67 percent of those under 40 favored abortion law reform.

The Detroit Women's Abortion Action Coalition (DWAAC) will be actively working to get out the "yes" vote on the referendum. DWAAC will be leafletting for the referendum in conjunction with the petition campaign for the Abortion Rights Act of 1972. In late October DWAAC will sponsor a tribunal and debate on the abortion laws at Wayne State University, as part of the national abortion law repeal campaign.

At the referendum rally in Ann Arbor, 217 people signed petitions supporting the Abortion Rights Act, and several women took petitions to circulate.

Linda Nordquist, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, has stated that "The passage of the Nov. 7 abortion referendum would be a victory for all women." Speaking for the Michigan SWP candidates, Nordquist said: "We call for a 'yes' vote on the abortion referendum. At the same time, we will . . . help organize for the total repeal of all laws restricting a woman's right to control her own body."

## Daily World on teacher parley

By FRANK LOVELL

There is a discrepancy between the reports in *The Militant* (Sept. 15) and the Communist Party's *Daily World* (Aug. 31) of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) convention held in St. Paul, Minn., Aug. 21-25.

Both accounts agree that an important action of the convention was passage of a strong antiwar resolution. Both agree that the resolution was passed on the last day despite parliamentary maneuvers by Albert Shanker, president of the New York City local, to prevent the vote.

Beyond these acknowledged facts, all similarity ends.

The *DW* account, written by labor reporter William Allan, says, "UAC [United Action Caucus] delegates spurred passage of the anti-war resolution. . . ." He does not mention the AFT Vietnam Caucus. Readers of this report would not know that that antiwar Vietnam Caucus existed.

*The Militant* report by convention delegate Jeff Mackler says, "The UAC played almost no role in the fight to



Militant

Raoul Teilhet, California Federation of Teachers president, speaks to Vietnam Caucus at St. Paul, Minn., teachers convention.

oppose the war at this convention." He attributes adoption of the antiwar resolution to the newly formed Vietnam Caucus, which brought several antiwar resolutions to the convention, including the model Minnesota Resolution of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers.

"More than 250 delegates formally joined the Vietnam Caucus at the St. Paul convention. . . securing the written endorsements of some 820 convention delegates [a majority] for the Minnesota Resolution," writes Mackler.

In addition, the Vietnam Caucus published its own newspaper, sold and distributed antiwar literature at its convention booth, and held widely attended caucus meetings, where several leaders of the UAC and others supporting the Selden-Shanker Progressive Caucus spoke.

The convention activities of the Vietnam Caucus were widely reported by the mass media. Allan was the only reporter present who apparently failed to note what was happening.

# Canadian government forces striking dockers back to work

By DAN ROSENSHINE

More than three thousand striking British Columbia longshoremen were forced back to work on Sept. 2 by an "emergency" bill passed by the Canadian Federal Parliament. The four-week-old West Coast dock strike was ended when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau summoned Members of Parliament to a special session to whip through the back-to-work bill.

The striking workers, members of the Canadian area International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), were forced back on the job until Dec. 31. The government action also outlawed a pending strike by grain workers in Western Canada who were in negotiations.

If no settlements are reached by Dec. 31, the longshoremen and grain workers will be free to take strike action—provided there is no further federal intervention against their right to strike.

Within hours after the antilabor act had been passed Trudeau announced that new national elections would be held Oct. 30. "The announcement," said the Vancouver daily, *The Province*, "came a little more than an hour after royal assent had been given to legislation ending the British Columbia dock strike . . . which threatened to develop into a major crisis during

the election campaign."

The West Coast strike began with an attempt by Vancouver longshoremen to reestablish union control of the hiring hall that dispatches workers to their assignments on the docks. This practice was won in past struggles but has increasingly been given up in recent ILWU contracts. It is important because it allows the union to spread the available work among all of the workers in an industry where the amount of work fluctuates.

On Aug. 7 the 600 Vancouver "steady men" (longshoremen who are on regular work gangs) began reporting to the union, at its request, for assignment to jobs on a day-to-day basis. The British Columbia Maritime Employers Association refused to hire the men through the union hall or even to negotiate the dispatch-center issue. The Vancouver docks came to a standstill.

On Aug. 23 the Canadian area ILWU called a strike in ports throughout British Columbia, thereby cutting off shipments of 30 million bushels of grain, most of it going to China. Twenty of the 30 ships left waiting in B. C. harbors were grain carriers.

The news media and the federal government attempted to use the delay of grain shipments to whip up senti-

ment against the striking workers, particularly in the agricultural prairie provinces. Canada has large grain orders from China, Japan, and the Soviet Union, and is now trying to extend its trade agreements with China.

The ILWU, in an attempt to win farmers to its side, demanded that the government nationalize the grain-loading facilities and operate them under a contract with the union. But this proposal was not given very serious attention by Ottawa, which wanted to find a solution that would be in the interests of the maritime employers.

Indicative of the mood among British Columbia workers were the results of the Aug. 30 provincial elections, in which the New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) won 38 of 55 provincial parliamentary seats. The NDP will now control the British Columbia government for the first time.

An unfortunate aspect of the passage of the Sept. 2 "emergency" measure was that federal NDP Members of Parliament went along with Trudeau's action against the West Coast longshoremen—only offering an amendment making the settlement that is finally reached retroactive to the expiration of the last contract.

# THE PHILADELPHIA PLAN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR JOBS

By FRANK LOVELL

The scramble for jobs in an economy based on scarcity is continuous, devious, and abrasive—an expression of the class struggle within capitalist society. The employing class seeks to divert attention from itself and confine the struggle for a limited number of jobs to different groups within the working class.

Thus employers, school directors, political bosses — all representative of ruling-class interests — have in the past established "quotas" for hiring contending ethnic groups, "so that everyone gets a fair shake and none are left out." Many employers also offer competitive examinations, "but some are naturally graded different from others."

In some areas of public employment (the lower work-classifications, typists, clerks, maintenance, etc.), government agencies long ago adopted the Civil Service examination system to hire the "most qualified" for job openings. All such "standards" are ways of determining who shall *not* be hired because the underlying assumption is that there are and will forever be more applicants than jobs.

As the job market gets tighter, more attention is paid to the old quota system, which seems to conflict with the old merit system, and there is a debate over which is more "fair." Each in its own way was fair for those who got hired, unfair for those who got left out. The purpose of debating the relative advantages of these different hiring systems is to distract attention from the capitalist system that promotes and profits from chronic unemployment.

This is behind the present squabble over the government-imposed hiring system in the construction industry, the "Philadelphia Plan," as it is called. Under this plan, Black workers, who have been systematically excluded from this industry by the building-trades unions in collaboration with building contractors, are to be hired. Some have been, but not many. Those who have been hired have more often than not been kept out of the unions, preventing them from moving on to another job in the same trade.

The "Philadelphia Plan" was a slick trick by the Nixon administration to create the impression that Blacks would be protected in their right to employment in the construction industry. At the same time, the government sought to promote nonunion contractors. The scheme, launched in 1969, seemed to be working well in both respects. Leaders of the Black community were kept busy finding openings for young Blacks in apprenticeship programs and placing older workers on a few construction sites. Meanwhile, open-shop contractors were moving in on construction work that had formerly been under union jurisdiction, preparing to bid on federally financed work.

Ironically, the open-shop threat to the unions developed fastest in Philadelphia and has provoked the most widely publicized challenge from the unions in that city. Last June 22 the Philadelphia Building and Construction Trades Council declared a labor holiday and conducted a giant demonstration and seven-mile march in torrential rain of more than 40,000 building tradesmen.

The action was against the Altemose Construction Company and Associated Building Contractors.



Civil rights activists keep watch at closed-down construction site in Pittsburgh in 1969. The Philadelphia Plan was designed to defuse demonstrations such as those in Pittsburgh.



Seattle Black workers rally at shut-down construction site in 1970

tors (ABC), an association of nonunion contractors formed eight years ago with open intentions of breaking the building-trades unions. These open-shop operators never got far until the recent encouragement from the Nixon administration. Like the admission policies of the unions, the hiring practices of these operators exclude Blacks.

Despite the advantages of the Philadelphia Plan from the standpoint of the employing class, it has become an issue in Nixon's presidential campaign because it does provide some jobs for Blacks. On Sept. 4 the *New York Times* reported that according to sources in the Labor Department and the White House, the Nixon administration had decided to scrap the Philadelphia Plan. This was of course immediately denied by Secretary of Labor James Hodgson. But the report sufficed for Nixon's campaign appeal to the racist prejudices of many white construction workers and their ignorant union officials.

Arthur Fletcher, former assistant secretary of labor and once in charge of administering the Philadelphia Plan, was apparently the source of the report.

Fletcher, the highest-ranking Black official ever to serve the Nixon administration, is presently director of the United Negro College Fund. At a news conference on the Philadelphia Plan controversy he branded Hodgson's denial a subterfuge. Hodgson had said the plan is only being "reviewed," not abandoned, which Fletcher observed, "is just another code word for putting the brakes on."

## Fight for jobs

Actually, the Philadelphia Plan, publicized by the Nixon administration in 1969, was at that time a way of putting the brakes on demonstrations by Black workers. They were closing construction sites all over the country and demanding jobs.

These actions were part of the fight by Blacks, since the depression days of the 1930s, to break into craft unions in the building trades. And without much success. It isn't that many Blacks don't know their way around in the construction industry. In many places they are still a majority of the laborers, those who carry the hod for masons and plasterers and set panels and strip forms for carpenters.

Whatever skills are required in most trades, Black workers have those skills or have enough knowledge of the industry to quickly pick them up. In rough carpentry work and form building on heavy construction, many Black carpenters are on the job and in the Carpenters union. Cement finishers are often Blacks. They learned the trade on the job and were promoted from laborer. The same is true to a lesser extent of brick masons and plasterers.

But the majority of skilled trades such as electricians, plumbers, iron workers, steam fitters, sheet metal workers, elevator constructors, floor layers, and even painters almost completely exclude Blacks.

With the expansion of industry and the 20-year building boom of the 1950s and '60s the number of Black workers in the construction industry did not increase. They were systematically excluded from the skilled trades. In the more recent years, they have been replaced as laborers by white workers.

When Nixon says that "dividing Americans into quotas is totally alien to the American tradition," Black workers know that he is talking about another America from the one they know. White workers also know this is a lie.

The old quota system operated effectively during the years following World War II when waves of "displaced persons" from the countries of Eastern Europe came here under a quota system. They also entered industry under some sort of a quota system. Regardless of what it was called or what the understanding was, the "DP refugees from Communist tyranny" got preferential treatment and were brought into industry under a preferential hiring plan. Otherwise they could not have found jobs.

The same is true of most young white workers today who get preferred treatment because they know a contractor or have relatives in the trade. In the construction industry a man can break in because he knows the right people or because he is a "blue eye." In the case of nine out of 10 "steady men" in a construction crew there is a "protector" somewhere, usually the contractor.

Many excuses are offered, but the fact is that whites are hired, and Blacks are not. Whether it is "quotas" or "merits" the system operates to keep Blacks out.

The reason the "Philadelphia Plan" dates from 1969 is because that was the year Black workers marched on construction sites in several major cities—Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Seattle, New York, Chicago. Street battles were fought in Pittsburgh, and some building sites were closed in every city.

The Black demonstrators demanded jobs. They were not asking for any system of quotas, preferential hiring, or anything of the sort.

This is an eminently fair demand. Some Black leaders and government agents then proposed the quota system as an answer to this demand. It was nothing new, the same old system that has always operated. Only now it is suggested that Blacks be included instead of excluded. Suddenly the quota system becomes "alien to the American tradition."

Black workers made a good start back in 1969 when they marched on construction sites and closed them down. They took the Philadelphia Plan for good coin and hoped some jobs would open up. Not enough have as yet. But some Blacks will still be hired.

How many and how soon depends on when the mass marches start again. This was evident in Seattle this June when Black construction workers in the United Construction Workers of America closed the construction site of Seattle Community College and won the right to oversee dispatching of minority apprentices to jobs.



# Guardian position in 1972— veiled support to McGovern

By DAVE FRANKEL

Newspapers around the country are devoting considerable space to news and analysis of the 1972 presidential elections. The *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, is no exception. Unfortunately, the editors of the *Guardian* seem to be having some trouble in getting their views on the election across to their readers.

Since its Aug. 23 issue, when the *Guardian's* editors finally came out with their position on the elections, a spate of letters have appeared in its pages. Most criticize the *Guardian* for refusing to endorse George McGovern and to call upon its readers to join

that time, they say, Harriman and those like him "recognized the U. S. has suffered an historic political and military defeat in Vietnam" and has to get out in order to cut its losses.

But Harriman was the chief U. S. negotiator at the Paris peace talks under Johnson. The Paris talks were initiated by Johnson after the Tet offensive of 1968 not as a means of ending U. S. intervention in Vietnam but as a charade designed to placate popular opinion in the U. S. while the war went on. Harriman, who was in charge of the actual implementation of this policy, can hardly be characterized as leading a split in the cap-

mounted a serious bid for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, using some of the same issues. In neither case is there evidence for a split in the ruling class.

## A peace candidate?

Now, in 1972, the editors of the *Guardian* are confident that if McGovern is elected he will end the war. How do they know? He says so. As Davidson writes in his June 21 article, "It can be assumed that, if elected, McGovern would stop the bombing, abandon the Thieu regime and [withdraw] all U. S. troops within 90 days, as he has stated."

In its editorial of Sept. 13 the *Guardian* correctly points out, "If words alone counted, Richard Nixon would be the 'peace candidate' in this year's election.

"But in deeds he is a mass murderer. "Therein lies the contradiction for many Americans. They have permitted Nixon's words to obscure his deeds."

The *Guardian* fails to mention McGovern in this editorial. But shouldn't the same yardstick also be applied to him? Does McGovern's record of voting for war appropriations, the Tonkin Gulf resolution, the draft, etc., qualify him as a peace candidate? What about his refusal to speak out vigorously against the bombing of North Vietnam's dikes and Nixon's blockade of its harbors?

The purpose of U. S. intervention in Indochina is to determine what governments and what social system will exist there. This violation of the right of the peoples of Indochina to self-determination is seen by McGovern as a tactical question.

It is certainly possible that McGovern might end the war if elected. And if Nixon is reelected, the combination of military resistance on the part of the Vietnamese and antiwar activity within the U. S. may well force him to abandon his policy of pounding the Vietnamese into submission.

However, suppose McGovern is elected and the military situation in Indochina improves for the U. S.-backed dictatorships. Or suppose a crisis erupts in Cambodia or Laos. Or suppose the war spreads to Thailand. Or what if Nixon's policies of saturation bombing and a complete naval blockade of North Vietnam finally begin to seriously curtail the ability of the North to aid the struggle in the South? What will McGovern do?

As a representative of American imperialism—and the *Guardian* editors say they believe that McGovern is such a representative—McGovern can be relied on to give up as little as possible of U. S. imperialist interests in Southeast Asia. Many questions will arise on which McGovern has made no statements and given no promises. He will evaluate each change in the situation in Indochina not from the viewpoint of the Indochinese peoples' right to self-determination but from the standpoint of making a deal in Vietnam that preserves as much U. S. power and influence there as possible.

By giving credence to McGovern's campaign promises on Vietnam, the *Guardian* does a disservice to the antiwar movement and to the struggle to build a socialist alternative to the capitalist parties.

## Guardian and '72 elections

The best part of the *Guardian's* po-

sition on the elections is that it calls for the continued mobilization of the largest possible numbers of people, independently of the Democratic and Republican parties. Unfortunately, it goes downhill from there.

"We do not oppose the growing trend of those among the masses who intend to vote for McGovern—just as we do not oppose any action which objectively assists the struggle of the Vietnamese people," say the *Guardian* editors. The pundits at the *Guardian* office are so sure that McGovern will end the war if he's elected that they identify a mass movement against the U. S. government and its imperialist war policies with an attempt by the ruling capitalist parties to put forward a figure who can assume a position



Militani/Flax Hermes



Militani/Bill Gretter

**The *Guardian* refuses to back the campaign of Linda Jenness and sees nothing wrong with people voting for McGovern.**

his campaign. Others have maintained that the effect of the Aug. 23 article was to give backhanded support to McGovern. What is the *Guardian's* analysis of the elections, and why has it provoked this confusion?

Carl Davidson, writing in the June 21 *Guardian*, holds that the war in Indochina has led to "a fundamental tactical split within the U. S. bourgeoisie." According to him, "The section of the bourgeoisie now represented by McGovern, since the 1968 Tet offensive, has recognized that the U. S. has been defeated in Vietnam and believes that imperialism's interests are best served by pulling back. . . ."

In their Aug. 23 article the *Guardian* editors agree with this analysis. They claim that the aim of this group of dissident capitalists "is to liquidate the involvement in Vietnam." Davidson, writing in the Aug. 9 *Guardian* as if he has a personal pipeline to the councils of the imperialist rulers, confidently asserts that "they intend, if McGovern wins the election, to withdraw from Indochina on terms acceptable to the Indochinese."

## Capitalist class split?

There is no doubt that there are differences of opinion on Vietnam within U. S. ruling circles. Tactical differences constantly arise as new problems are posed. But a long-term split in the ranks of the capitalists is a different matter.

The *Guardian* editors point to Averell Harriman and former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford as representative of the forces they think have a fundamental tactical disagreement with the majority of the capitalist class. They believe that this split originated after the Tet offensive in 1968. At

italist class over the Vietnam war.

After more than two years of "end-the-war" bills, amendments and riders, "indications of the sense of the Senate," sham battles on war appropriations, and the rest of the parliamentary maneuvers designed for maximum propaganda and minimum results, one hardly needs the tutelage of Marx and Lenin to be a little suspicious of the notion that there's a deep split in the ruling class.

Confronted with the evidence of the Pentagon papers, the *Guardian* editors are forced to admit that in 1964 Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater had the same line on Vietnam, despite their bitter disagreement as public campaigners. But, they say, "In 1968, the split within the ruling class and the popular resistance had developed to the point of unseating Johnson and building the primary campaigns of Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy."

First of all, the dumping of Johnson cannot be taken as supporting the theory of a split in the ruling class. All indications are that there was nearly unanimous agreement on that course—not the least of which is the fact that Johnson gave up his political life without a public fight.

No secret papers are available to document the real positions of the politicians in the 1968 elections. Lacking these, the *Guardian* editors take them at their word. This is how they determined that Kennedy and McCarthy were "real" antiwar candidates. In point of fact, McCarthy openly declared that his campaign was designed to draw young people off of the streets and into the Democratic Party.

When Kennedy saw the response to McCarthy's antiwar rhetoric, he



**Averell Harriman. The *Guardian* believes LBJ's chief negotiator in Paris wanted the U. S. to give up in Vietnam.**

of leadership and bring that movement under control.

While not openly endorsing George McGovern and opposing "the participation of left activists in the McGovern campaign apparatus," the *Guardian* sees a vote for McGovern as objectively assisting the struggle of the Vietnamese. Since it specifically denies any opposition to people voting for McGovern, one can only conclude that the *Guardian's* brand of independence from the capitalist parties includes voting for the Democrats.

We arrive at the same conclusion by following a process of elimination. The *Guardian* specifically advises against support to the presidential tickets of the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and the People's Party. Referring to the Raza Unida parties in the Southwest and "some black formations in the South," the *Guardian* says, "Under certain conditions, it could be correct for proletarian socialists to support them." What this means is unclear, but it seems to imply that such is not the case right now.

Clearly, the *Guardian* editors don't want their readers to vote for Nixon, who they say must be hit "hard with the main blow." Furthermore, they say, "The fact that we are not endorsing any national candidates in this election should not be seen as a call for an election boycott." Since they come out against a boycott and spe-

*Continued on page 22*



## Obstacle to antiwar mov't

# Hanoi's bias for McGovern

By DICK ROBERTS

Hanoi has indicated a bias toward Democratic Party candidate George McGovern in the U.S. presidential elections. This cannot benefit the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Most of Hanoi's foreign propaganda is aimed at the Nixon administration and does not comment on the McGovern campaign. However a recent editorial leaves no doubt where the Hanoi leadership stands. Apparently translated from the official Hanoi newspaper *Nhan Dan*, the editorial appears in the Sept. 1-15 issue of *News from Vietnam*, publication of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada.

"American and world attention is focused on the obvious differences in all aspects between [the Republican program] and this year's election program of the Democratic Party," the obviously rough translation of the editorial states. "These differences," it continues, "are in particularly in evidence in regard to the issues of the Vietnam war, the economy, finance, and foreign policy."

"Regarding the Vietnam issue, the Democratic Party program plans to put an immediate end to the Vietnam war, by withdrawing from Indochina all US troops within 90 days without posing any preconditions and further stopping the expansion of the war from Laos and Cambodia. . . . The Democratic Party's program clearly states: 'The United States will not seek to determine the political future of the Indochinese countries.'

" . . . The Democratic Party program reflects a certain effort to analyze the failure the US has met and the errors it has committed in Vietnam and Indochina, attempting to find a way out."

But the Democratic Party program is far from being an effort to analyze the tactics of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. It is a carefully orchestrated drive to defuse the antiwar movement and attract disillusioned Americans back into the discredited capitalist Democratic Party that launched the attack on Indochina to begin with.

This is why McGovern refuses to support the antiwar movement, opposes mass demonstrations, and urges antiwar activists to work for his election.

McGovern's campaign is helping not hindering Nixon's massive intensification of the war. This point has recently been recognized by Anthony Lewis, the pro-Democratic *New York Times* correspondent who helped reveal Nixon's bombing of the North Vietnamese dikes.

In his Sept. 16 column, Lewis points to a seeming contradiction: "By a majority of 76 per cent to 21, Americans want to bring home 'all U.S. military, naval and air forces from Vietnam.'" But, ac-

cording to the same Louis Harris poll, "Asked whether they agreed more with McGovern or with Nixon in his 'approach to bringing home U.S. troops, naval and air forces,' those polled chose Nixon by 51 to 33."

Why? "There could hardly be a more devastating comment on Senator McGovern's progress in informing the voters, much less arousing them. The Vietnam war is his issue if anything is. The American public has favored a total withdrawal for years—his position—and that sentiment is at the peak. Yet McGovern evidently has not been able either to identify himself with it effectively or to make the reality of what Nixon is doing in Indochina register."

The reason is that despite what McGovern sometimes says about total withdrawal of U.S. forces, he doesn't favor it. McGovern's failure to launch an effective antiwar campaign is not an accident. Think of what he could do.

With the millions of dollars now flowing into the Democratic campaign chests, he could put spots on TV across the nation hour after hour telling the truth about the daily genocidal bombing. These could be used to help rally massive demonstrations for immediate withdrawal. This campaign could be launched right now—it should have been launched months ago. And it would put massive pressure on Washington to come to terms.

But McGovern is seeking ways to dupe voters. This is why he talks about a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina within 90 days of taking office—which would be March 1973, six months from now—instead of today. And it is why McGovern equivocates on the question of keeping U.S. forces in Thailand, where Nixon is building bases for indefinite continuation of the war and U.S. occupation of Southeast Asia.

Hanoi has indicated to several U.S. journalists that it does not expect McGovern to win the elections. Joseph Kraft wrote upon returning from Hanoi, in the July 22 *New York Post*, "It is plain wrong to suppose that the North Vietnamese leaders are pinning their hopes on the Senator from South Dakota. Their hopes rest on the perception that it would be a great coup for President Nixon if he could achieve a settlement of the war."

Nevertheless, backhanded support to the McGovern campaign can only hinder the task of the international antiwar movement to build the needed mobilizations for immediate withdrawal. Hanoi's stand on McGovern not only helps mis-educate the American antiwar movement about the true nature of capitalist politics but also goes against the best interests of the Vietnamese people themselves.



## Birds of a feather

On CBS's "Campaign '72 Special Report" broadcast Sept. 17, George McGovern appeared with Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley. McGovern stated, "We will win partly because we have the support of a great mayor of a great city who has proved that a city can be made to work in modern-day America, Richard Daley."

A few weeks earlier McGovern and Daley held a private meeting in Chicago where the presidential candidate pledged his support to the entire Democratic ticket in Chicago, including Edward V. Hanrahan, candidate for state's attorney.

# How U.S. monopoly profits from apartheid

By TONY THOMAS

With the rise of Pan-Africanism, many Black activists have attempted to expose the complicity of U.S. firms in South Africa with the apartheid system of racial segregation and white minority rule that dominates that country. An article by John Blashill in the July issue of *Fortune* exposes how U.S. firms profit from apartheid.

There are 292 U.S. corporate subsidiaries or affiliates in South Africa, not including South African and foreign-owned firms with U.S. investments. "Their combined direct investment is close to \$900 million, and their returns on that investment have been romping home at something like 19 percent a year, after taxes [\$171-million]." These firms employ more than 100,000 nonwhite workers.

The average monthly wage of Black workers in U.S. firms is "\$69 . . . far less than the average for white workers (\$419). Even more significant, the average for blacks is considerably less than a minimum needed to supply the bare necessities of life for a family of five. . . . This 'poverty datum line' [determined by the South African authorities] is \$103 a month in Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Port Elizabeth. In Capetown it is \$89, in Durban \$93."

Blashill writes, "The climate is ripe

for change. What strikes an observer forcibly, however, is that few American subsidiaries in South Africa seem to know it—or want it. With some notable exceptions, they are behind the times, even for South Africa.

" . . . most executives who run U.S. subsidiaries in South Africa like the system as it is. In 1969, a market-research organization conducted a poll of 106 American and Canadian businessmen living in the country. More than three-quarters of them approved of apartheid as 'an approach that is . . . an attempt to develop a solution.'" Typical of this approach is an International Harvester executive who told Blashill he supported apartheid because he didn't "want hundreds of Africans running around in front of my house."

Blashill gives the O'okiep Copper Company as an example of the way the great majority of U.S. firms operate. "O'okiep has 2,000 black workers. It recruits them from poverty-ridden tribal areas, signs them to one-year contracts at wages averaging about \$40 a month (plus bed and board in the company compound), then ships them back home when the year is up."

In another plant, Black assistant welders have to act as servants of the

white welders, fixing them tea and carrying tools. When the white welders are absent—which Blashill says is sometimes three days a week—these "assistants," who are not allowed to be welders and receive welders' pay "work twice as fast at one-third the pay," of the white welders.

Similarly, many claims that "equal pay" is given for "equal work" between Black and white workers is simply untrue. In some plants where this is supposedly taking place, it is because of bans on Black workers having high job classifications. Black workers in some industries are banned from being foremen. However in several U.S.-owned and in many South African plants, Black workers do the work of foremen while remaining in lower job classifications. They receive "equal pay" with whites of lower job classification, not with foremen with whom they share "equal work."

Blashill states, "Only at the middle grades of the factory pay scales do blacks and whites work at the same wages. The blacks start at the bottom and can rise no higher than the middle. The whites start no lower than the middle and can go to the top." In Ford auto plants in South Africa, "A colored with fifteen years' experience gets the same pay as a white

starting out," Blashill was told.

The few gains that have been registered have been the result of the scarcity of white labor and the advantage of cheap African wage scales. White unemployment stands at 3,000—0.2 percent of the work force. "Faced with the prospect of empty assembly lines, industry has had no choice but to turn to African workers. 'If I had to depend on white labor to run my plant, I'd have to close down tomorrow,' says a typical American manager."

Some U.S. businessmen actually want more black employees because they can be paid much cheaper rates than whites. An American manager told him, he would "like to convert his assembly line to only Black workers," to cut down on payrolls. This manager claimed that only apartheid legislation prevents him from doing so.

U.S. corporations carry out racist hiring practices, promotional policies, and pay scales in South Africa for the same reasons they do so in the United States: to increase their profits. Only by struggling against the corporations both in the U.S. and South Africa, only by ending white minority rule in South Africa, can real gains be won for Black South African workers.

# In Review

## Books



The Czechoslovak Political Trials, 1950-1954, edited by Jiri Pelikan. Stanford University Press. Stanford, Calif., 1971. 360 pp. \$10.95.

In April 1968, the Dubcek government set up a commission to investigate the Czechoslovak purge trials of the early 1950s and their aftermath. Stretching over a period of five years, these trials reached high into the Communist party, resulting in the execution of Rudolf Slansky, the party's secretary-general, and other prominent party leaders, as well as the imprisonment of thousands of persons on a variety of trumped-up charges.

The commission was headed by Jan Piller, a member of the Communist party Central Committee, and included historians, lawyers, political scientists, and economists—all of them Communists. Their conclusions were so devastating that the party leadership, even prior to the Soviet invasion in August, constantly found pretexts to postpone the release of the commission's report.

In his introduction to this translation of the document, Jiri Pelikan writes that Piller "... informed the leadership in the summer of 1968 that the Report contained such alarming facts that publication might touch off an explosion likely to undermine the authority of the Party and of some of its top men. This led some Presidium members to agree to postponement—indeed not a few of them saw these documents as a threat to themselves. The experts who had been working on them were instructed to turn in all their notes, denied further access to the records and bound to complete silence. True, even after the August invasion Dubcek tried to have the Report submitted to the Central Committee, but after the blow he had suffered he no longer had the political strength to get this done. The documents were marked top secret and deposited in the archives, in the hope that they would never see the light of day."

One of the ironies in the situation is the fact that Gustav Husak, whose government still prevents the publication of the Piller report in Czechoslovakia, was himself a victim of the trials. Husak was arrested in 1951 and sentenced in 1954 to life imprisonment as a "bourgeois nationalist."

It is not difficult to understand the bureaucracy's determination to prevent the Czechoslovak public from learning the contents of the Piller commission's report. The researchers discovered that the highest levels of the party had connived in frame-ups, the use of torture to extract "confessions," and the careful staging of show trials. Moreover, the work of commissions later appointed to "rehabilitate" those falsely accused was regularly hamstrung by the party Political Bureau.

While the Piller commission devoted most of its attention to domestic aspects of the trials, the report would have created embarrassment for the bureaucracies of the other European workers states as well. The trials were launched in Czechoslovakia only after repeated claims from East Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest, and Moscow that Czechoslovakia was the focus of an attempt by imperialism to infiltrate agents into the highest levels of the

Communist parties. The interrogation of Czechoslovak prisoners was carried out under the direction of Soviet experts provided by Stalin.

The commission was also instructed to make recommendations as to how a repetition of the purges could be prevented. One particular suggestion must have thoroughly shaken many leaders of the party and state bureaucracy:

"The Commission recommends that the following principle be established: that none of the Party leaders, Security officers or members of the legal profession who had any part in preparing and conducting the political trials, or in the so-called reassessments of 1955-7, shall ever again hold high Party or Government office or work in Security or in the legal profession."

Jiri Pelikan was, prior to the Soviet invasion, chairman of the parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee and a general director of Czechoslovak television. He now lives in exile in Italy. In his postscript to the Piller commission report, he notes some ominous similarities between the period of the early 1950s and the current atmosphere in Czechoslovakia:

"Political opponents are ... being 'politically' exposed, isolated, stripped of all public positions and silenced. The 'opponents' include Dubcek and most of the Party leadership of 1968 (many of whom, being victims of the trials, could return to public life only after January of that year), and with them the majority of the nation. That, according to the present leadership, is where the matter is to rest. But, once put in motion, the practices acquire an inexorable logic—either the accusations levelled against the men of the 'post-January' policy are justified, in which case punishment must be meted out, or there will be no punishment, with the result that sooner or later it will be seen that the whole business was simply a smoke-screen with no substance behind it."

In addition, Pelikan writes, the collaborators with the occupation forces live "in fear and trembling of an end to the military occupation, or indeed of any political change. ..." They see political trials as a means of defending their own positions.

"There is every reason," Pelikan adds, "to believe that the mechanism of persecution has been set in motion, and the lesson of the past is that a point is reached at which even the very best of intentions are powerless to apply the brakes. Admittedly, Husak and his colleagues are probably not subjected to the same exceptional external pressures as those brought to bear on Gottwald [Klement Gottwald, head of the Communist party and of the state at the time of the trials] in his day. But they are definitely under pressure from the 'collaborators' at home, as being the only group on which they can rely in pursuing their highly unpopular policy."

The absurd charges that have been made against Pelikan himself are an unfortunate indication that Husak is in fact preparing a new version of the 1950-54 trials.

—DAVID BURTON  
From *Intercontinental Press*

## Film African liberation

*Black Unity: Breaking the Chains of Oppression.* A 16mm, 36-minute color documentary produced by the African Liberation Day Film Project.

"We ... are ... an African people! We ... are ... an African people! We ... are ... an African people!" chanted thousands of Black demonstrators before the Washington monument as the film *Black Unity: Breaking the Chains of Oppression* draws to a close. Through this and other scenes *Black Unity* recaptures the tremendous solidarity with the African liberation struggle expressed by the tens of thousands who made up the May 27 African Liberation Day (ALD) demonstrations.

As a recreation of the May 27 activities in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, *Black Unity* stands out as an accurate representation of the mass character and militancy of those actions. Excerpts from the speeches of Representative Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), Imamu Amiri Baraka, Professor Walter Rodney (a Jamaican militant teaching in Tanzania), and Owusu Sadaukai are woven in with scenes from the marches and rallies in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. In addition, the film includes scenes of the preparatory work—the last-minute meetings, the organization of monitors—that went into making the May 27 demonstrations a success.

But *Black Unity* is more than an outstanding reconstruction of the day's events. Through the excellent use of narrative and still and motion photography, the film uncovers the integral connection between the struggles for liberation in Africa and the struggles of African peoples throughout the world. At the same time, *Black Unity* graphically illustrates how unity in action can advance the struggles of African peoples on a world scale.

The film opens with a brief history of the Black struggle in Africa and the U.S. during the past two decades. Scenes from the civil rights demonstrations and the ghetto rebellions in the U.S. are followed by scenes from the current battles raging in Africa against white colonial regimes. The point is made in the narration: the struggle has reached a new plateau requiring a revolutionary solution against a ruthless enemy, the same one in the United States as in Africa.

In this context the role of U.S. business, government, and military in the maintenance of white minority regimes in Africa is documented, as well as the international scope of the ALD demonstrations and the need for continued action on an international scale.

Owusu Sadaukai, chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC)—successor of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC) that organized the May 27 demonstrations—describes in the film his visit to Africa in the fall of 1971 and his discussions with the liberation fighters in Mozambique, which led him to initiate the ALDCC upon his return to the U.S.

Sadaukai also describes the vast changes brought about in the areas controlled by the liberation forces in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. These include the democratic election of councils to govern villages and regions; the establishment of schools, hospitals, and other social services in areas totally neglected by the European colonial overlords; and most graphically, the role of women as both leaders and fighters in the struggles to rid Africa of racist, imperialist rule.

*Black Unity: Breaking the Chains of Oppression* is a primer on film of the current stage of the African liberation struggles. Viewers can be inspired with the idea that unified mass actions in the U.S. can concretely aid the success of those struggles.

Fortunately, the film is available for distribution from the ALSC with no rental fee. Requests for the film or for more information can be sent to African Liberation Support Committee, P.O. Box 21304, Greensboro, N.C. 27420.

—JOHN HAWKINS



# HOW COMMERCIAL PUBLISHERS HAVE ABUSED LEON TROTSKY'S WRITINGS

By GEORGE BREITMAN

Leon Trotsky wrote five books during his last exile (1929-40) that were published by trade (commercial) publishers in the United States. This does not include the books and pamphlets issued by Pioneer Publishers, a forerunner of the present Pathfinder Press, or *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, a transcript of the hearings on the charges made against Trotsky in the Moscow trials, which was published by Harper & Brothers in 1937, or the notebooks published as *Trotsky's Diary in Exile, 1935*, by Harvard University Press in 1958.

These five books by Trotsky and the names of their publishers, who were among the biggest and most prestigious in this country, were *My Life*, Scribner's; *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Simon & Schuster; *The Revolution Betrayed*, Doubleday Doran; *Stalin*, Harper & Brothers; and *The Young Lenin*, Doubleday. Some of these will still be read with appreciation and fascination long after the last country in the world has gone socialist.

The publication of the Lenin biography now—37 years after it was written—and the recent publication of a book throwing new light on the handling of the Stalin biography can serve as the occasion for a brief summary of what those publishers did and didn't do with those books.

The Scribner edition of *My Life* enjoyed some critical success when it was published in 1930. Many reviewers recognized the qualities that are called "classic," and the book had two editions, or two printings, in a relatively short time. But Scribner's did not display much interest in it thereafter. When paperbacks came into fashion after World War II, Scribner's did not think it worthwhile to publish it in that form. Later, they failed to renew the copyright when it expired 28 years after the book's publication, thus allowing *My Life* to enter the public domain.

Pathfinder's 1970 edition of *My Life*

apparently has sold more copies in two years than Scribner's sold during the entire 28 years of its ownership. And that is *not* because Pathfinder has a greater number of sales outlets than Scribner's.

Simon & Schuster published the first volume of *The History of the Russian Revolution* in 1932, the second and third in 1933, a single-volume edition in 1936, and a second printing of the latter in 1937. While it was hailed by some as one of the greatest historical works ever written, its sales evidently did not satisfy Messrs. S&S. In any case, they did not wait until the expiration of the 28-year copyright period. In 1957 they sold the book to the University of Michigan Press.

There must have been a market for the book because that university press, with its limited sales resources, put out four printings in the next seven years and evidently finds it profitable to have kept it in print the last 15 years.

An editor at S&S volunteered the information to me last year that his company's decision to give up the rights to this book had been unfortunate. I did not ask if he meant unfortunate because it's a book any publisher would be proud of or unfortunate because it still makes money.

Doubleday Doran published *The Revolution Betrayed* in 1937. Sales were not up to expectations, and the publishers were glad to sell the book at the first opportunity, which came in 1945 when Pioneer Publishers scraped together enough money to buy it.

Either the market for the book has grown or it was reached only after the original publisher gave it up. Pathfinder sells more copies of it every two years than Doubleday did in eight.

## Exceptional treatment

This brings us to *Stalin*, the biography Trotsky was still working on when he was killed by an agent of Stalin in 1940. Like most of the other publishers cited above, Harper & Brothers (now Harper & Row) did not

feel happy with this book, and when the chance came, sold it to Stein & Day in 1967. Before that, however, Harper's gave this book rather exceptional treatment by printing it in 1941 and then withholding it until 1946.

A version of how this happened appears in the recent book by the then president of Harper's, Cass Canfield (*Up and Down and Around*, Harper's



Leon Trotsky

Magazine Press, 1971, 272 pp., \$8.95). The story of his life covers the more than four decades when he was a major influence in American publishing. Canfield was born a bourgeois and trained as a bourgeois, and he writes with most conviction when he is talking about profits:

"No matter what delight he may take in literature, a publisher is in business to make a profit. The better he is at figures, the more he can indulge his literary tastes."

"... trade publishing remains a risky business. Fortunes are made from paper products such as milk containers, paper cups, Kleenex, paper towels, and the risks involved are relatively small. But the moment paper is covered with print, trouble starts and profits shrink. Every trade book is a new and individual product which must be sold in the market place, untried. In consequence, the trade book publisher who makes a profit on sales is fortunate. . . ."

It makes one wonder how much the cultural level of this country would have fallen if Canfield had tied up with Kleenex instead of Harper's.

His passages about Trotsky begin on a somewhat more solemn note than the rest of the book: "A dilemma presented itself when we published Leon Trotsky's biography of Stalin, a book that . . . raised questions about the publisher's obligations and responsibilities to which I still have no sure answers."

Then he switches back to a largely irrelevant account of his visit to Trotsky when he happened to be in Mexico City early in 1940. Although he calls Trotsky a "thoroughly dangerous character" (by contrast he views the finance capitalist J.P. Morgan as "a great leader and a very strong personality"), the purpose of these reminiscences seems to be to establish that

Canfield did not harbor any prejudices against Trotsky personally and is able to concede Trotsky's "engaging" qualities. Con men always try to display sincerity and fairness before they get down to the meat of their business.

After Trotsky was assassinated, it was necessary, Canfield writes, "to find a qualified person to finish the book from his voluminous notes. We chose Charles Malamuth, a Russian scholar, for this assignment, and he performed it well." Canfield neglects to note that this scholar smuggled into the book political ideas diametrically opposed to those held by Trotsky, against the protest of Trotsky's widow and comrades. A trifle of this kind was not the source of Canfield's "dilemma."

## Stalin's helper

The book was printed and advance copies were mailed to reviewers on Friday, Dec. 5, 1941. "I breathed a sigh of relief," Canfield says. But 48 hours later the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, which brought the U.S. formally into World War II.

"After the first shock I began to think about the publishing problems presented by Trotsky's *Stalin*. It was obvious that, within a few days, Stalin would be America's ally and that he would deeply resent the appearance of this biography by his arch-rival. On the other hand, we had an obligation to the author—in this case to his estate. It was a sticky situation, as the British say."

Up to the publication of Canfield's book, most writers on the subject believed that Harper's withdrew the book "under pressure from the U.S. State Department as a friendly gesture to Stalin," and that is precisely how we put it in a note about the biography in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40)*, page 128. But if Canfield is to be believed, the initiative and credit for this suppression belong first of all to him.

Overnight Canfield "pondered this problem, and on Monday morning telephoned three men I knew in Washington, each of whom had access to the President. I needed their advice." He didn't like the advice he got from the first two: they were "evasive," saying Harper's was a private company and should make its own decisions. "By the time I called the third man, I was desperate for guidance." He too tended to be "indirect," but when pressed, he gave his "personal and confidential opinion" that it would be a disaster if the Trotsky book were published.

That was all Canfield and his colleagues needed. By noon they had written asking the reviewers to return the copies sent to them and then sealed up the whole first printing of the book in their warehouse.

"There they rested for years—illegally, under the terms of our contract. Mrs. Trotsky's lawyers demanded that we publish forthwith and we received many letters of protest, some of them angry and threatening. We kept the books sealed up until U.S. relations with Stalin had deteriorated to a point, in 1946, where publication could do no harm."

Canfield does not tell us what would have happened to the book if the cold war had not broken out at that time. Would it still be in Harper's warehouse if the U.S. and the USSR had

Continued on page 22



1943 picket line protested lies in Hollywood movie 'Mission to Moscow.' Film justified Stalin's purges and had State Department encouragement. Harper's, which suppressed Trotsky's biography of Stalin, was also anxious to cover up for wartime ally.



# Calendar

## BERKELEY-OAKLAND

**DANCE AND OMELET SUPPER.** Featuring Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Sat., Oct. 7, 7 p.m. Sequoia Lodge, 2666 Mountain Blvd., Oakland. Donation: \$3. For more information, call (415) 654-9728.

## BOSTON

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS.** Every Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Station). For more information, call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**AN EVENING WITH ANDREW PULLEY**, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Fri., Sept. 29, 6:30 p.m. Includes dinner, speeches by Andrew Pulley; John Hawkins, SWP candidate for Congress from 12th C.D.; and James Mendieta, SWP candidate for Congress from 14th C.D. Party follows. At SWP campaign headquarters, 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$3.00. For further information, call (212) 596-2917.

## DETROIT

**VIOLENCE IN THE MIDEAST: WHO IS RESPONSIBLE? A DEBATE.** With Jeff Berchenko of the Socialist Workers Party; and representatives of Arab and Zionist organizations. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information, call (313) 831-6135.

## LOS ANGELES

**WHICH WAY FOR YOUTH IN '72?** Speakers: Geoff Mirelowitz, member of Young Socialist Alliance national executive committee; David Lang, spokesman for McGovern campaign. Dinner served after forum. Fri., Sept. 29, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (213) 463-1917.

**INDOCHINA AND THE '72 ELECTIONS.** Speaker: Geoff Mirelowitz, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee member who met with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in November 1971. Tues., Sept. 26, 3 p.m., at UCLA, 3517 Ackerman Union. Sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. For more information, call (213) 463-1966.

**LOS ANGELES CAMPAIGN BANQUET.** With Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Sat., Sept. 30. Refreshments, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m.; rally, 8:30 p.m.; party follows. Armenian Hall, 1501 Venice Blvd. (west off Harbor Freeway), Los Angeles. Donation: \$5, h.s. students \$3. Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. For more information and reservations, call (213) 461-8131 or (213) 463-1917.

## NATIONAL

Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will appear on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" along with other candidates from the smaller parties on Sun., Oct. 8, 1 p.m. (New York time).

## ANDREW PULLEY NEW YORK TOUR SCHEDULE

Sept. 28-Oct. 2

**THURS., Sept. 28, 12 noon:** Andrew Pulley and Bobby Washington, SWP congressional candidate from Harlem, will speak at City College of New York, 330 Finley Student Center, 135th St. and Convent Ave. For more information, call 663-3000.

**7:30 p.m.:** Andrew Pulley will speak at New York University, Loeb Student Center. For more information, call 982-6051.

**FRI., Sept. 29:** Banquet and rally sponsored by Brooklyn SWP campaign committee. With Andrew Pulley and others. (See calendar under Brooklyn for more information.)

**SAT., Sept. 30:** Banquet and cabaret sponsored by Lower Manhattan SWP campaign committee. With Andrew Pulley and others. Guest speakers: Marybeth Yakoubian, editor of the *Student Middle East Review*; and Jane Tam, member of District 1 community school board. (See calendar under New York: Lower Manhattan for more information.)

**MON., Oct. 2, 12 noon:** Andrew Pulley; James Mendieta, SWP congressional candidate from Brooklyn's 14th C.D.; and John Hawkins, SWP congressional candidate from Brooklyn's 12th C.D., will speak at New York City Community College, Tillary and Jay streets, downtown Brooklyn. For more information, call 596-2917.

**6 p.m.:** Andrew Pulley will speak at Hunter College, 68th St. and Park Ave. For more information, call 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**BANQUET AND CABARET.** Speakers include: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Sat., Sept. 30. Refreshments, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m.; party follows. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsored by Lower Manhattan Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**ISRAEL'S WAR ON THE MIDDLE EAST.** Speakers: Ibrahim Tawasha, director of Arab Information Center; Russell Block, Socialist Workers campaign committee. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. Pioneer Bookstore, 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

**DON'T MISS:** Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, speaks at University of San Francisco, Fri., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

## SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

**MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY.** Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

## TWIN CITIES

**PANEL IN DEFENSE OF GAY RIGHTS.** Speakers: Mike McConnell, gay activist; Becky Bohan, member of University Women's Liberation. Fri., Sept. 29, 8 p.m. 1 University Pl. N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

# ...CP

*Continued from page 12*

The role the CP played in the Minneapolis case proves which party really served as accomplices of the imperialists in Washington.

But still larger political issues are involved. The CP remains as faithful a lackey of the Moscow bureaucrats as in the 1940s. It has not hesitated to approve the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia that even the French, Italian, and British CPs have criticized. It endorses the hounding of Solzhenitsyn and other writers and intellectuals in the Soviet Union, the jailing of Ukrainian and Lithuanian Communist dissidents, and echoes all the Kremlin lies and slanders against Trotskyism.

In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, the CP even tried to justify the warm reception Moscow gave Nixon after

the blockade of Haiphong harbor and while his planes were raining death and destruction upon Vietnam.

In 1972 the CP is giving the same kind of support to the Democrat McGovern as it did to Roosevelt in 1936 and 1944 (its call to "Dump Nixon" equals "Vote for McGovern").

Jaffe writes that the CP's role in the Minneapolis case "was the inevitable consequence of the dogma that he who is not absolutely one hundred percent with me all the time is my mortal enemy," a type of factional animosity that has "polluted the atmosphere of the radical world for more than two decades."

There is much more to the matter. The shameful action of the CP in this and other instances is the inevitable consequence of the opportunist methods of class collaboration that are rooted in its Stalinist politics and utter submissiveness to the Soviet bureaucracy.

That is what accounts for the party's despicable behavior and makes it so unworthy of trust.

# ...McGov

*Continued from page 18*

cifically oppose a vote for all of the presidential candidates except McGovern, whose candidacy they don't "endorse," the readers of the *Guardian* may be excused for their confusion.

The truth is that the *Guardian* editors want people to vote for George McGovern, but they're ashamed to come out and say it. Instead, they refuse to publicly endorse his candidacy while stressing that "We do not oppose the growing trend of those among the masses [and presumably of those among the *Guardian* staff as well—D.F.] who intend to vote for McGovern. . . ."

As one *Guardian* reader wrote, "The duty of a Marxist revolutionary newspaper is to point out clearly its stand on a given political issue. The editorial on the elections is confusing. In a veiled manner, it endorses McGovern."

# ...Trotsky

*Continued from page 21*

continued their wartime alliance? Instead, he closes the incident with these reflections:

"Does a publisher have the right to disregard his contractual obligations in order to fulfill what he considers to be his duty as a citizen? There is no denying that I failed to live up to our publishing agreement and that, with the approval of my colleagues

[at Harper's], I set myself up as an arbiter of what was in the national interest, without any instructions from our government. While I believe that I made the right decision, this is certainly a debatable question."

First Canfield appoints an editor to mangle the book when Trotsky is no longer alive to defend himself. Then he converts the book into a factional football in the war for "four freedoms" and other nice-sounding objectives. And now, 30 years later, he has the effrontery to pretend that he may be morally troubled because, as he piously puts it, "I set myself up as an arbiter of what was in the national interest. . . ." Hell, isn't that the *function* of the capitalist publishers and their hucksters, isn't that what, collectively, they do regularly and automatically, all the time? [Next week: Doubleday and *The Young Lenin*.]

# ...Atlanta

*Continued from page 24*

modating—until the air began to leave his tires and the fuel poured from his gas tank. No other trucks tried to enter the plant.

As 7 p.m. approached, police with riot helmets moved toward the gates. They moved cautiously, obviously afraid of the consequences of enforcing the injunction against 300 demonstrators. Television cameras were filming the events. A police helicopter hovered menacingly overhead, periodically landing on Mead's roof.

At 7 o'clock, the scabs arriving for the night shift were told by the company to go home. The plant was closing down. The strikers and pickets then voted to let the day shift leave the parking lot. After the lot had emptied, the police attempted to escort a few scab cars back inside, and several scuffles broke out. Police used their nightsticks indiscriminately and randomly picked out a few pickets for arrest.

Seven were arrested as white policemen clubbed a number of demonstrators to the ground and continued to beat them after they were down.

During the demonstration, Keith Jones, SWP congressional candidate, distributed a statement of solidarity with the strike. Jones's statement challenged his Democratic opponent, the Reverend Andrew Young, a former SCLC minister, to join him on the picket line. The statement emphasized the necessity of building strike support committees on campuses, in other plants, and throughout the Black community.

# Socialist Directory

**ALABAMA:** Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathens, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-8354.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 427 Main St. #206, Hartford, Conn. 06103. Tel: (203) 246-6797.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, c/o David Bouffard, 308 S. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72, c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

ton, Ky. 40506.

**LOUISIANA:** Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, 10975 Sheraton Dr., Baton Rouge, La. 70815.

**MARYLAND:** College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; and Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE:** Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

**NEW JERSEY:** Red Bank: YSA, P.O. Box 222, Rumson, N.J. 07760.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 503 Carlisle S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87106.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New

York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, 1612 Summit St. (side entrance), Columbus, Ohio 43201. Tel: (614) 299-2942.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

**OREGON:** Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

**TENNESSEE:** Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA and SWP, P.O. Box 7753, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP and YSA and Pathfinder Books, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020. Tel: (713) 674-0612.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

**VERMONT:** Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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# THE MILITANT

## Atlanta strikers defy injunction

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA, Sept. 18—The Mead Packaging Plant is shut down tonight. In defiance of a court order 300 people marched on the plant this afternoon. Seven hundred Black workers at Mead have been on strike since Aug. 11, but today's action was the first large-scale mobilization of support from the campuses and the Black community.

The Mead plant in northwest Atlanta, the largest paper box factory in the world, has long been notorious for unsafe and unhealthy working conditions. The air in the plant is so unbreathable that longtime workers in the plant frequently contract emphysema. A well-known Atlanta disc jockey held up his hand at one strike meeting and said, "This is what Mead gave me," indicating the stumps where his fingers had been before they were cut off by an unshielded machine at Mead.

In the strike begun over five weeks ago, the predominantly Black work force has received no support from the white-controlled AFL-CIO sweetheart union that purports to represent them. So today's support from other Atlantans was vital to the continued success of the strike. The strikers are demanding not only an end to racial discrimination but improvement in the job conditions that affect all workers.

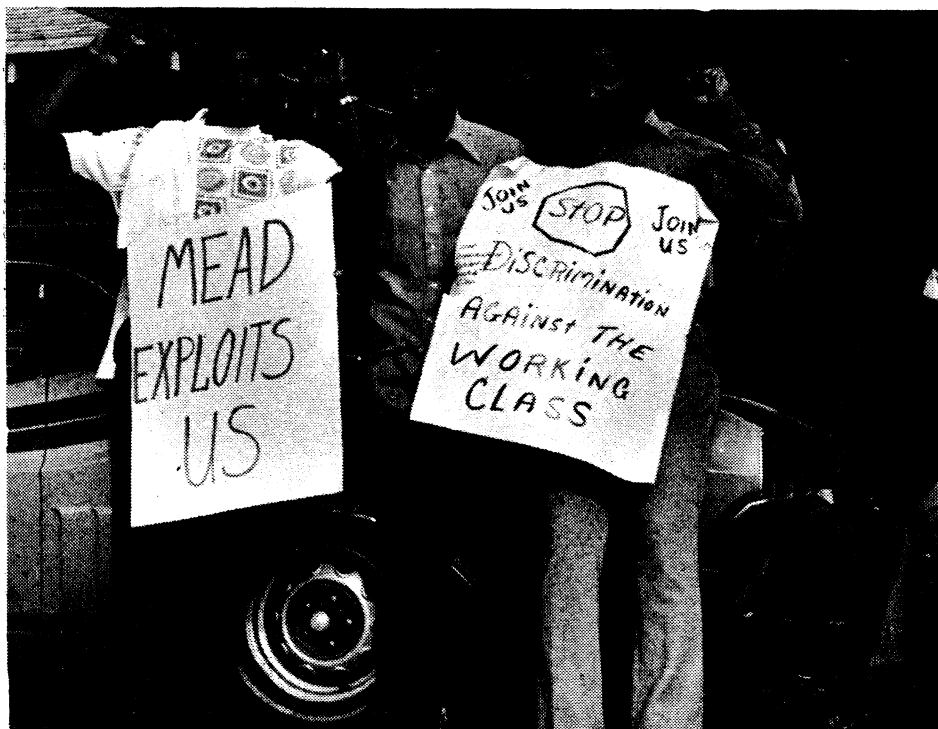
The demonstrators assembled at the Atlanta University complex, a group of Black colleges, and marched the four miles to Mead led by a mule train and casket provided by the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Reflective of the broad support the strike is picking up, a large contingent of marchers came from the Atlanta University campus.

Among the marchers were Black workers from Nabisco and Sears and Roebuck who were victorious in their own strikes in the past month. One huge banner read "Nabisco workers support their brothers at Mead." Also on the picket line were members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, including the Georgia SWP candidates in the 1972 elections—Alice Conner for U. S. Senate, Keith Jones for U. S. Congress from the 5th C.D., and Meg Rose for Fulton County sheriff.

The demonstration's sponsorship was broad. Sponsors included the Mead Caucus of Rank and File Workers, the strike committee, which holds strike meetings nearly every day; SCLC; SWP; Atlanta's underground newspaper, the *Great Speckled Bird*; Black student organizations at Georgia State University; the Timbuktu Bookstore; the Georgia State University Young Socialist Alliance; and the United Youth Adult Conference.

After a rally with speeches by Hosea Williams of SCLC, the Reverend W.J. Stafford of the Free for All Baptist Church, and several of the strike leaders, the demonstrators moved to block the main employee and truck entrance to Mead. This violated a Fulton Superior Court injunction obtained by Mead that limits pickets to five at each



Militant/George Basley

Three striking workers picket outside Mead Packaging Plant

gate.

In addition to the injunction, the Mead owners are attempting to weaken the strike by recruiting scabs. Using scab labor, the huge paper box factory tried to operate two 12-hour skeleton shifts today with a shift change scheduled for 7 p.m.

The gate was blocked by 6 p.m. Seconds later the first confrontation took place as a tractor-trailer approached the gate with a Black man

driving and a white supervisor riding in the cab. Angry demonstrators massed at the right window and confronted the white scab. The driver, convinced by the logic of the situation, put on his brakes, climbed out of the cab, and walked away, leaving his truck blocking the entrance road as the pickets cheered.

Another rig pulled up behind the first, but this driver was less accom-

Continued on page 22

## So. Calif. Black activist faces frame-up

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The trial of Black activist Gary Lawton and two codefendants, charged with murdering two policemen, is now under way in the desert town of Indio, about 120 miles from here. The initial legal moves reinforced the fears of the defendants that the court is in league with the prosecution to railroad them to prison on trumped-up charges.

The two cops were shot in ambush in April 1970 in the town of Riverside, some 50 miles from here. Shortly afterward, Lawton, a leading activist in Riverside's Black community, was charged with the killing. Then two youths whom he did not even know, Larrie Gardner and Nehemiah Jackson, were charged with conspiring with Lawton to commit the killing. All three insist on their innocence.

Lawton first came to prominence in Riverside at the time of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Lawton proposed to the city council that the public library be renamed after Dr. King as a memorial to the slain rights leader. His proposal infuriated the racists who dominate town politics, and the local daily has been running a campaign of smear and slander against Lawton ever since.

When Lawton emerged as the principle leader in a series of community struggles, the racist campaign against him intensified.

The night the cops were shot, Lawton was one of many Blacks stopped and searched by police. While holding him, they radioed headquarters and then released him because he did not match in any way the description offered by area residents of those they saw fleeing the

scene of the shooting.

The witnesses reported seeing several youthful Blacks with naturals and white teen-agers. (A later police version changed this to all Blacks.) Lawton is in his thirties, partially bald, and at the time weighed 200 pounds.

Several days later police came to his home and took him to headquarters.



Militant/Harry Ring

**Chukia Lawton, whose husband faces murder charge, describes racist frame-up at Sept. 8 meeting of Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum.**

He voluntarily submitted to a lie-detector test. The test verified the truth of his insistence that he knew nothing of the shooting. The cops decided the machine must not be working and tried him again on another one. He passed that test and a third one as well.

Yet shortly afterward he was indicted on the word of two Black youths, one of whom is reportedly a police informer, the other, a narcotics addict. They asserted that they had previously sold Lawton a gun found at the scene of the shooting.

The police also claimed that Lawton's voice print matches that of a tape recording of the telephone voice that lured the two cops to the ambush.

Nehemiah Jackson and Larrie Gardner were later indicted on the word of a 14-year-old white woman who had had personal relations with Gardner. She has told at least three different stories to officials. The latest, to a grand jury, was that she had actually witnessed the shooting.

The trial was moved to Indio, a small, date-growing community, on the grounds of alleged "security." The three are being held without bail. Lawton was originally denied bail because California law permitted this when a person faced a possible death penalty. When the state courts struck down the death penalty, the judge found some fine print in the law providing denial of bail in an "horrendous" crime.

Ironically, in the very next courtroom to the one in which Lawton and his codefendants are being tried, a policeman is on trial for killing a Chicano while off-duty. Witnesses allege that he shot the defenseless man in cold blood. He is being charged only with manslaughter and is free on \$5,000 bail.

When the trial of Lawton, Jackson, and Gardner opened, the defense moved for a change of venue on the grounds that the defendants could not obtain a trial by their peers in largely

white Indio. They cited the fact that the panel from which the jury is to be drawn is highly unrepresentative in terms of Blacks, Chicanos, and youth.

They also moved to repress as evidence a notebook police seized illegally from Gardner's home during a search made without a warrant.

All defense motions were denied by the presiding judge, Warren Slaughter.

Another move by Slaughter provided an ominous indication of how he will function during the trial. Ten days prior to a Sept. 15 court session, the defense advised him they would have in court that day several expert witnesses to testify on the validity of the lie-detector tests administered to Lawton and why the results should be weighed as evidence. The day these witnesses were brought to court—at substantial expense to the defense—Judge Slaughter announced he would consider the matter at another date.

This added to the tremendous financial difficulties faced by the defense. The defense staff is functioning on virtually no money and the defense attorneys, David Epstein and John Mitchell, are meeting essential legal costs with borrowed funds.

Contributions to fight this frame-up are desperately needed and should be sent to the Gary Lawton Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412.

Defense committee speakers are available to appear at meetings and fund-raising affairs. For information about speakers or literature on the case, phone (714) 684-8131.

The trial is being held in the Indio Court House. Sessions begin at 9:30 a.m. and are open to the public.